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2535th MEETING: 7 MAY 1984

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CONTENTS

Page

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2535) 1

Adoption of the agenda 1

The situation in Cyprus:
Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514) 1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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2535th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 7 May 1984, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Oleg A. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2535)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Cyprus:
   Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:
Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item [*2531st to 2534th meetings*] I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to take places at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Ecuador, Sri Lanka, the Syrian Arab Republic and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Dountas (Greece) and Mr. Kirca (Turkey) took places at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Jacobs (Antigua and Barbuda), Mr. Woolcott (Australia), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Wijewardane (Sri Lanka), Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cuba, Guyana, Jamaica, Mongolia and Viet Nam in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Karran (Guyana), Mr. Carr (Jamaica), Mr. Erdenechuluun (Mongolia) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The first speaker is the representative of Jamaica. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. CARR (Jamaica): At the outset I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. Your experience and renowned diplomatic skills give us the assurance that under your presidency the Council will be able to live up to its important responsibilities in the best possible way. I should like also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Vladimir Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the business of the Council last month. Finally, may I thank you, Mr. President and through you the other members of the Council for agreeing to my request to address the Council today.

5. The question of Cyprus, as members of the Council are fully aware, is rooted in the difficulties encountered by two peoples that have been constrained by history and geography to coexist and live together as one in the same territory. It may be recalled that, at its accession to independence on 16 August 1960, the island of Cyprus became a bicommunal Republic, pursuant to the agreements reached in February 1959 in Zurich and London between the parties—namely, the Greek Cypriots, the Turkish Cypriots, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

6. It is pertinent also to recall that the Constitution adopted at the advent of independence recognized the existence of two communities—the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot—whose interests were to be

guaranteed and safeguarded by that Constitution. In addition, the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee[1] signed by Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom further guaranteed the fundamental principles of that Constitution, including the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the new Cypriot State, as well as an equitable balance between the interests of both communities.

7. Members of the Council are fully aware of the salient and tragic events in the ensuing years: the bloody events of 1963, resulting in the establishment of a peace-keeping force in Cyprus following the adoption of Security Council resolution 186 (1964) and sporadic intercommunal talks beginning in 1968; renewed military activities in 1974, leading to General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) later that year calling upon all States to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and non-alignment of Cyprus, reaffirming the constitutional nature of the two communities and urging them to continue negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General in order to reach a political solution based on their fundamental and legitimate rights; and, last year, unilateral action to proclaim a so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which was subsequently declared invalid in Security Council resolution 541 (1983).

8. There has been a series of disturbing developments since the beginning of this year, as contained in the Secretary-General's report of 1 May 1984 [*S/16519*], namely, the announcement by the Turkish Cypriots on 6 March of their intention to adopt a flag of their own and the decision to conduct a constitutional referendum and elections this year in August and November, respectively.

9. In our view, these developments will further exacerbate and complicate the search for a peaceful and equitable solution to the question of Cyprus and cause added concern to the international community. In the view of my Government, these latest developments not only flout the General Assembly's resolution with respect to the unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus and Security Council resolution 541 (1983), but equally violate the 1960 Cypriot Constitution and the Treaty of Guarantee governing the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Cypriot State.

10. My Government believes that the latest unilateral proposals are incompatible with the efforts of the international community to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and incongruous with the existing constitutional provisions and treaties governing the political life of the State of Cyprus. It is inconceivable that the international community could be expected to accept these measures, and we therefore urge the initiators of the proposals to withdraw them.

11. From the very beginning of the Cypriot crisis, Jamaica has firmly supported and continues to support the resolution of the Cyprus question on the basis of ensuring the genuine independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. My Government deeply regrets that the intercommunal talks remain stalled after they had been so briefly resumed in Nicosia. We are seriously concerned at the continuing delay in resuming them.

12. The Secretary-General's latest report remains an ominous reminder, if any were needed, of the perils confronting this question if a peaceful and acceptable solution continues to elude us. We fully agree with the Secretary-General that in order to prevent any further deterioration of the situation it is indispensable to maintain a continued process of communication and negotiation in the search for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cyprus question.

13. It is therefore the earnest hope of my Government that the parties on which the success of the search for an agreed settlement of the problem ultimately depends will extend their increased co-operation to the Secretary-General so as to overcome the persistent difficulties that have hitherto impeded his efforts.

14. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

15. Mr. SAHNOUN (Algeria) [*interpretation from French*]: First of all, Mr. President, I should like to express to your predecessor, Mr. Kravets, the deep appreciation of the delegation of Algeria for the outstanding manner in which he carried out the duties which are now yours for the month of May. The relations of trust, friendship and co-operation between our two countries further enhance my pleasure in congratulating you most warmly on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf. I am convinced that under your competent guidance the Security Council will have performed a useful function in once again considering the situation prevailing in Cyprus.

16. The question of Cyprus, which the United Nations has been discussing actively for some 20 years, is clearly linked to the will of peoples which, emerging from the colonial period, wished to enjoy independent national existence in full sovereignty. However, this question is increasingly assuming the characteristics of a race against time.

17. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which the Republic of Cyprus is a founding member, has repeatedly insisted—and these words carry full weight today—on full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of Cyprus. At the same time, it has sought to defend the cardinal principles of contemporary international law and to be a driving force in the search for a final political solution based on these principles and taking into account the common destiny of the component parts of the Cypriot people. Quite naturally, the Non-Aligned Movement has taken an active part in

forming the international consensus on the necessarily peaceful final settlement of the Cyprus crisis, and it is because of its conviction that the Cypriot communities must perforce coexist harmoniously that it has constantly called for constructive dialogue and reconciliation. This conviction led to the creation of the contact group of non-aligned countries on Cyprus, over which Algeria has the honour to preside. With discretion and perseverance, the group is endeavouring to make a modest contribution to the implementation of the resolutions and decisions of the Non-Aligned Movement on Cyprus by resolutely calling for responsible dialogue between the Cypriot communities.

18. It was in this spirit and with this outlook that the representatives of the member countries of the contact group, after the Movement's Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government had reaffirmed its position on this question, went to Cyprus, at the invitation of that country's Government, and held many meetings with Government authorities and spokesmen for both communities. At that time we clearly expressed our full support for the Secretary-General's initiatives. The commendable efforts of the Secretary-General gave ground for great hope for the establishment of conditions conducive to launching the process of dialogue and settling the crisis.

19. Looked at in the light of the justifiable optimism created by the facts I have mentioned, the proclamation of a so-called independent State in the northern part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus on 15 November 1983 clearly seemed to be an unfortunate development containing the seeds of further complication of the situation.

20. The Security Council, in resolution 541 (1983) of 18 November 1983, handed down on behalf of the international community an authoritative opinion on the political meaning of the *de facto* situation which had been created and on its lack of legal validity. It was therefore reasonable to hope that there would be a healthy reversal of the trend and a new spur to efforts, particularly by the Secretary-General, to generate and maintain a real dynamic for peace in place of the escalation of tension and the exacerbation of the crisis, to the advantage of all. The current meetings of the Security Council prove, unfortunately, that events are taking a different course.

21. The measures and initiatives taken or contemplated in the extension of the act of 15 November 1983, which the Council has declared null and void, cannot claim any kind of legitimacy. Above and beyond the legal aspect of the question, we are compelled to note that those measures and initiatives run counter to the necessary reconciliation that would be conducive to the just and definitive solution that the international community advocates.

22. While we appreciate that there is a certain frustration and disappointment and while we are aware of the legitimate fears of the two communities, we feel bound to state that measures that could call into question yet again in one way or another the fundamental principles embodied in the Charter are so serious that the international community must denounce them.

23. Today not only the unity but the sovereignty and the independence of the island are seriously threatened. Partition and annexation of Cyprus threaten to become reality. This would be tragic, not only for the people of Cyprus in all its component parts, but also for peace and stability in a particularly disturbed region which arouses so many expansionist desires and ambitions.

24. We are fully aware of the complexity of the problem. Having visited the island at the head of the non-aligned contact group on Cyprus, we know what still remains to be done to create a climate conducive to dialogue and the quest for a peaceful settlement. It is incumbent upon the Security Council and the international community to act as the essential catalysts, first to halt the process of deterioration of the situation and then to re-establish real communication between the two communities, which alone can gradually restore relations of trust with full respect for all their legitimate rights and within the framework of harmonious coexistence.

25. In this connection I should like to stress the importance of the clear and specific recommendations of the Secretary-General in his report of 1 May 1984 [*S/16519*]. The Secretary-General stresses that it is for the Council to give a new impetus to the search for a peaceful settlement, after ensuring that everything possible is done to see that the situation does not continue to deteriorate, and he states that he is ready to continue to carry out the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Council as long as there is clear support for this.

26. The Security Council can and must revive hope. It must change the course of events, once again bring its unanimous authority to bear in achieving an international consensus on this question and give a decisive impetus to the peaceful settlement process so that the people of Cyprus may come through this time of trial in peace and harmony.

27. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): It has just occurred to me, Sir, that, this will be the second and the last occasion in my lifetime on which, as a representative to the Council, I shall have the pleasure of complimenting you on your assumption of the office of President. I assure you that this fact in itself will in no way diminish the high regard I have always had for your friendly charm, your diplomatic skill and your experienced handling of difficult situations. I think it is particularly appropriate that we have you to guide us on this delicate question today. I wish also to express my deep appreciation to Mr. Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic for the excellent way he handled the duties of President last month.

28. Once more, with great concern, we are constrained to speak in the Council on the situation in Cyprus. Malta speaks with a sense of regret and foreboding about the latest turn of events, but we hope eventually to break away from this mood of despondency and deadlock. We speak from the perspective of a sister island Republic in the Mediterranean, with a sense of solidarity with the people—all the people—of Cyprus, as we strive together for reconciliation and peace in the island and throughout the Mediterranean.

29. We also speak from the perspective of another small country, with abiding faith in the United Nations but alarmed at the frequency with which powerful countries are resorting to lawlessness and the use of force incompatible with the Charter. Nevertheless, we remain convinced that recourse to the United Nations is the proper course for nations to follow.

30. Finally, we speak out of ties of sincere friendship with all the other countries of the region, including those that were valiant adversaries in the past and are valued friends today. It is perhaps on that last note that we would prefer to concentrate our participation today.

31. Cyprus is a country with a long and eventful history, proud in its ancient civilization. One unchangeable facet of that history is the presence of two communities on the island and the island's proximity to Greece and Turkey. It is a historical fact that complex difficulties of a political, constitutional, administrative and cultural nature arose between the two communities in the island, both before and after independence.

32. We need not today delve into the reasons, but the cries of "*enosis*" and "partition" respectively were raised loudly by the leaders of the two communities in the struggle for independence. The echoes of those stirring slogans, so strong to their respective supporters but so frightening to their opponents, unfortunately have not yet faded away completely, as has been all too evident from the debate so far. On the contrary, those concepts have remained part of the political lexicon of spokesmen and leaders—not so much, it seems to me, in terms of practical possibilities, but, rather, as enduring cultural links with long-held traditions of thought.

33. It is also on record that many objective and independent observers of different nationalities—for instance, Lord Radcliffe of the United Kingdom and Mr. Galo Plaza of the United Nations—after careful study in the island of Cyprus saw the best prospects for the future of the island in a unified, independent country. That certainly was the negotiated basis of the independence of Cyprus. This view has been, and remains, supported strongly and consistently by the international community, as the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council have confirmed on innumerable occasions.

34. There has always been a tremendous fund of international good will towards all the people of Cyprus, as well as a strong feeling and clear determination that they should be left in peace to prosper as one nation, free from outside interference, and with all indigenous citizens enjoying equal rights. There is, similarly, a sense of international outrage at what is being done to the island today.

35. After the tragic events that led to the armed military intervention in 1974—10 troubled years ago—the environment in Cyprus was heavy-handedly changed. The details are still vivid in our minds and were restated last week. The grim evidence cannot be denied: families untraced, families uprooted from their homes, forced changes in the demography and a line of mines and barbed wire dividing the island, with foreign troops in large numbers occupying more than a third of the country.

36. Yet, even under this ominous duress, the Government of Cyprus has remained calm and exercised maximum restraint. It has made every effort and taken several initiatives to co-operate with the international community and with the Turkish Cypriot leadership. A welcome ray of hope at last pierced the despondent gloom when the leaders of the two communities negotiated and signed, at the highest level, the accord of 1977 [*see S/12323, para. 5*] and the 10-point agreement of May 1979 [*see S/13369, para. 51*]. Those accords were intended to reassure both sides that neither *enosis* nor partition would henceforth be pursued.

37. Two of the most significant elements in the latter agreement bear quoting in full. They are as follows:

> "2. The basis for the talks will be the Makarios/Denktaş guidelines of 12 February 1977 and the United Nations resolutions relevant to the Cyprus question.
>
> "...
>
> "6. It was agreed to abstain from any action which might jeopardize the outcome of the talks, and special importance will be given to initial practical measures by both sides to promote goodwill, mutual confidence and the return to normal conditions."

38. In all fairness, and with the greatest respect, even though we are told here that those agreements are the basis on which the intercommunal talks are being held and that the agreements remain valid, it is difficult to regard the actions taken on 14 November last year, and 17 April this year—as well as others already publicly declared to be going to take place in future—as being compatible with the provisions of the points quoted above, or, perhaps even less, with the studious, patient, quiet and dedicated efforts of the Secretary-General in exercise of the mandate given to him by the Security Council. Indeed, the developments do speak for themselves; they are completely against the Council's decisions and cannot be accepted.

39. This reflection of opinion is not a monopoly of this building. I could—but will not—quote reams of independent opinion in articles from a wide selection of newspapers, magazines and other periodicals which deplore the stalling tactics in the intercommunal talks. These talks, as has been recalled, have already dragged on now for almost six years, since June 1978. The Council of Europe, the British Commonwealth of Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in general terms have followed suit, denouncing the military actions of 1974, calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces and not recognizing the subsequent unilateral measures of the Turkish Cypriot leadership.

40. It should, I submit, be clear to all that there is no international conspiracy against the Turkish community in Cyprus. There is only a widespread international concern that it is not helping the objectives of peace by the divisive methods it is pursuing. The United Nations has scrupulously ensured, in a proper manner that the concerns of the Turkish Cypriot community are heard. Decisions of the United Nations are expressed after due consideration, and taking into account all the known facts of the situation. The decisions should therefore be heeded for what they are, not misconstrued into what they are not meant to be.

41. The question now before us is to assess the current impasse and to suggest a fair and practical course of action. For this, our best counsel continues to be to rely on the latest report of the Secretary-General [*S/16519*]. What is contained in his latest report should come as no surprise. The frequency and stridency of the letters from both sides addressed to the Council before the presentation of the report, the intemperate language of those letters, the complex argumentation on constitutional issues and, above all, the constant accusations and counter-accusations, told their own sad story, which was openly demonstrated in the debate last week. It is obvious that a debate for the public gallery is no substitute for hard negotiation. It is equally obvious that quiet diplomacy on the complex issues at stake is the best course for progress. But progress requires a determination to succeed, not to destroy, to co-operate in, not to frustrate, the search for steady progress. Because of negative attitudes, even language becomes contorted. We read in paragraph 12 of the report, for instance, that President Kyprianou encouraged the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to develop "an approach to improving on an interim basis the situation concerning certain disputed issues in order to facilitate a high-level meeting leading to a resumption of the intercommunal dialogue". Yet even with such limited objectives, these initiatives encountered Turkish Cypriot obstruction and delaying tactics.

42. The Secretary-General's comprehensive summary is commendably objective in its fairness and restraint, despite the obstacles and frustrations placed in the way of his dedicated efforts. It is obvious, as he rightly observes in his letter of 14 April to Mr. Denktaş [*ibid., annex III*], that he can only pursue his mission of good offices with the *bona fide* co-operation and support of those concerned. That, therefore, is the first essential prerequisite; the parties must recall that the international community is striving to help them overcome the mutual fears and suspicions that are preventing them from making the progress that they both claim to seek but have not so far obtained.

43. The second prerequisite is the continuation of the Secretary-General's good offices, despite this regrettable setback. We wish to recall that both the 1977 and the 1979 agreements were negotiated by the Secretary-General. He has mastered all the details of the complex negotiating process and has a keen perception of the positions of both communities as well as of the mandate entrusted to him by the Council.

44. The third requirement is for the Council to act with solidarity and in concert now, so as unambiguously to urge all parties to co-operate, in good faith and with renewed dedication, in the work of the Secretary-General, which could perhaps also be intensified. We are glad to note at least from this debate the importance that all sides attach to the debate itself and to the need for a peaceful solution. The Security Council has entrusted the Secretary-General with the task of working precisely for that purpose. He has made prodigious efforts and shown an admirable commitment to progress. He therefore deserves unequivocal support. This determination could also appropriately be conveyed to the protagonists by influential friends of the parties much more insistently than ever before, for there are powerful collective forces at play in the Cyprus question.

45. The fourth prerequisite is the continued, unhindered stationing of United Nations forces in Cyprus; they have already rendered sterling service to the country and to the cause of peace. We renew our thanks and appreciation to the contributing countries for this service.

46. In the final analysis, a solution cannot and should not be imposed on Cyprus. The people—all the indigenous people—of Cyprus have to learn to live with one another in peace with themselves and with their immediate neighbours. No one community can prevail over the other, nor can any one neighbour impose its will on Cyprus or on any part of the island, if peace is really to be secured.

47. The tragic events of 1974 have only served to confirm this reality. A continuation of the policy of division is only a prescription for perpetual tension and strife. At this critical period, therefore, at this the moment of truth, we wish to compliment the President of Cyprus for the dignified way in which he has pleaded his country's cause, and to thank him for his presence among us, for his abiding faith in this Organization and for his patient quest for peace and reconciliation.

48. The Government of Malta wishes to reassure the President that we will spare no effort within our modest

means. We urge the leaders of the other parties concerned to rally to his call to start writing a new chapter in the history of Cyprus and the Mediterranean. The London and Zurich Agreements[2] under enlightened leadership heralded a new vision of hope for the independence of Cyprus—"a start in freedom", as the former Governor of the island, Lord Caradon, then Sir Hugh Foot, called it. That freedom has passed through a period of turbulence and travail, but that turbulence is in itself proof that it is no solution, that it should not be prolonged.

49. On the contrary, the leaders of Cyprus and its neighbouring countries should in the near future get together at the highest level and chart a course solemnly recognizing the sovereignty, unity, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of a demilitarized Cyprus, as a shining jewel of reconciliation in the eastern Mediterranean, at peace and on friendly and equal terms with both its important neighbours.

50. Let me end by recalling that, in the past, ethnic harmony prevailed for centuries in Cyprus. There is no reason why this should not be so in future, in a free and independent Cyprus. There are many ways in which the international community can guarantee equal rights to all Cypriot citizens should this really be necessary. The tragedy of 1974 should never have happened. We have to make sure that its repercussions will not stifle the genuine progress that is in the common interest of the two communities, of neighbouring countries and of peace, with the continued help of the United Nations, through its dedicated Secretary-General.

51. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): Permit me first of all, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. My delegation is greatly pleased and satisfied at that, and your well-known diplomatic talents and skill, as well as your rich experience, give us justifiable confidence that the deliberations of this Council will be guided effectively. I should like also to express my delegation's deep appreciation of the distinguished and dignified manner in which your predecessor, Mr. Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, presided over the Council last month.

52. The Council is currently seized of a matter that is a delicate as it is serious, and I should like to express my delegation's position on it. Before doing that, however, I must pay a special tribute to certain individuals for their respective contributions to efforts towards placing the current debate in its proper context and perspective.

53. First, the delegation of Zimbabwe very warmly welcomes and appreciates the major statement made in this Chamber on 3 May [*2531st meeting*] by Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus. In that objective, balanced and analytical statement the President gave an account of the very grave threat to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of his country. Moreover, his account demonstrates beyond any doubt that the grave threat to the very existence of Cyprus is the work of external forces and that these forces of disintegration are the same ones as prompted the unilateral and illegal declaration of the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus by the Turkish Cypriot leadership on 15 November 1983.

54. Secondly, in reaffirming its full confidence in the Secretary-General, the delegation of the Republic of Zimbabwe wishes also to place on record its appreciation of and satisfaction at the energetic and extremely objective manner in which he went about carrying out his very delicate and difficult mission of good offices in search of a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem, as mandated by the Council's resolutions, including resolutions 541 (1983) and 544 (1983). In this connection we would like to join those who have already very warmly welcomed the Secretary-General's report of 1 May 1984 [*S/16519*], which was submitted pursuant to paragraph 2 of resolution 544 (1983). As the Secretary-General observes in paragraph 23 of that report, he has simply allowed the developments outlined in his report to speak for themselves.

55. I wish now to turn to the developments which prompted the Government of the Republic of Cyprus to call for an urgent meeting of the Council. In making that request [*S/16514*] the representative of Cyprus mentioned as justification for such a meeting the grave situation in his country as exemplified by the "exchange of ambassadors" between Turkey and the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. It must be pointed out here that this action is only one in a catalogue of similar dangerous developments, such as, for instance, the talk about the creation and adoption of a so-called national flag of the illegal secessionist entity, the holding of a constitutional referendum and other such activities.

56. The position of Zimbabwe regarding these developments is very clear. Just as we unreservedly condemned and rejected the illegal unilateral declaration of independence by the Turkish Cypriot leadership on 15 November 1983, so also we cannot accept recent developments and efforts by the Turkish Cypriot leaders and their external allies designed to consolidate that same unilateral declaration of independence. We also regard the adoption of a so-called national flag by the Turkish Cypriot community and the exchange of so-called ambassadors with any State as totally incompatible with the letter and the spirit of the Council's resolutions on Cyprus, especially resolution 541 (1983), which not only calls for the withdrawal of that legally invalid unilateral declaration of independence, but also enjoins all States not to grant recognition to any Cypriot State other than the Republic of Cyprus. Moreover, we view the purported exchange of so-called ambassadors and the contemplated holding of a so-called constitutional referendum and elections as moves designed specifically to consolidate and perpetuate the unilateral declaration of independence and therefore to prejudice and

frustrate the efforts of the Secretary-General to use his good offices in the search of a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus.

57. In talking about actions and activities which render the Secretary-General's already difficult mission of good offices even more complicated and frustrating, we regret to observe once again, as we did while contributing to the Council's debate on the question of the unilateral declaration of independence on 18 November 1983 [*2500th meeting*], that the actions of the Turkish Cypriot leadership constitute a rude and intolerable slap in the face of the international community. For, just as the unilateral declaration of independence was conceived and made last year at a time when the Secretary-General's own personal efforts in search of a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem were under way, so the recent announcement of the purported exchange of so-called ambassadors, as well as of other measures to consolidate the illegal unilateral declaration of independence, was made at a time of intensive exchanges between the Secretary-General and the parties directly and mainly concerned in the Cyprus question with a view to clarifying and elaborating a draft scenario for consideration by the Cypriot communities. This point is very clearly stated in the eleventh paragraph of the Secretary-General's report which we have already cited. And, by the way, as the Secretary-General observers in the same paragraph, "Throughout those exchanges I had reason to feel confident that I could count on the understanding and assistance of the Turkish Government in moving forward."

58. Regrettably, however, it is now very clear that there can be no forward movement for the Secretary-General at this stage because the understanding which had given him hope has been removed by the recently announced developments. Despite what appears to be a bleak situation, however, we remain encouraged by his willingness, indeed determination, to continue to the best of his ability his mission of good offices. But, as he rightly reminds the Council, if his efforts are to meet with any success at all he must have the Council's unambiguous support, collectively and individually. For our part we would like to assure the Secretary-General of our continued support for his efforts in search of a just and lasting solution, since we cannot see any viable alternative line of action.

59. While calling upon all the other members of the Council similarly to pledge their support for the Secretary-General's efforts, we also wish to remind them of the pressing concerns of the Republic of Cyprus, namely, the immediate restoration of a state of legality in the northern part of the island and the need to ensure the constitutional oneness, sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Members of the Council will recall that the Council has already pronounced itself very clearly on this matter in its resolution 541 (1983), which, *inter alia*, called for the immediate withdrawal of the illegal unilateral declaration of independence and enjoined all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

60. The Republic of Cyprus has requested an urgent meeting of the Council because not only has resolution 541 (1983) remained unimplemented, but it is also already being flagrantly violated by a Member of the United Nations. The Council must reject any attempts to present the international community with a series of illegal *faits accomplis* in Cyprus. It should insist instead on the need to guarantee the constitutional and territorial unity and indivisibility of the Republic of Cyprus. It is our understanding that the Government of the Republic of Cyprus will soon submit to the Council a draft resolution designed to achieve these objectives. We, for our part, will co-operate with the delegation of Cyprus and other delegations to ensure successful negotiations on the adoption of such a text.

61. Mr. BASSOLE (Upper Volta) [*interpretation from French*]: Mr. President, it is a great satisfaction to see you, a son of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, guiding over the Security Council for this month, which is proving to be one involving a great deal of work. Your eminent qualities as a seasoned and competent diplomat and your wisdom guarantee the success of our work. You can rely on the willingness of my delegation to work indefatigably with the other members of the Council to ensure that your task is as easy as possible. I should also like on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf to address very warm and sincere congratulations to Mr. Vladimir Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, who so competently directed the work of the Council last month.

62. Once again the Security Council is meeting to consider the thorny question of Cyprus. My delegation has listened closely to the statements made by the representatives of the parties concerned. It is good to see that a number of common points seem to exist between the two, above all the quest for national unity, territorial integrity and the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Cyprus.

63. Nevertheless we must admit that there are very deep differences that day by day take us further away from a peaceful solution. It is extremely regrettable that actions such as the occupation of part of the territory of Cyprus by foreign forces and the unilateral declaration of independence by a self-styled Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus have constantly frustrated the efforts of the international community.

64. Upper Volta, which is a non-aligned country profoundly wedded to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, deplores the situation and appeals that all resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on this matter be respected, particularly Council resolution 541 (1983). In adopting that resolution on 18 November 1983, the Council not only deplored the declaration made by the Turkish Cypriot authorities but also considered it juridically

null and void and demanded its retraction. It went on to call upon all States not to recognize any Cypriot State other than the Republic of Cyprus and also asked the two parties to co-operate fully and openly with the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices.

65. It was our hope that that resolution would cause common sense and the voice of reason to prevail, making it possible for negotiations to continue under the auspices of the Secretary-General, who for years now has been constantly working for a peaceful solution. Unfortunately that was not the case. Our hopes crumbled, and the United Nations was left empty-handed.

66. Thus, in flagrant violation of resolution 541 (1983), the Turkish authorities not only recognized the self-styled Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus but also proceeded to exchange so-called ambassadors. Already, on 10 April 1984 Turkish Cypriot leaders announced that a draft constitution was ready for submission to referendum in August and that elections would take place in November 1984. Such steps needlessly complicate the process of communication and negotiation which has so constantly been advocated by the Secretary-General and which he has duly emphasized in his report.

67. It is thus to the Turkish Cypriot leaders that we make an urgent and heartfelt appeal to heed Security Council resolution 541 (1983) and thus enable the Secretary-General fully to exercise his functions.

68. My country believes that the unity, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus must be defended and preserved. That will be possible only if the foreign occupying forces are withdrawn from the island, which we believe would make it possible for the Cypriot peoples to settle their differences in the light of their higher interests.

69. Upper Volta would not attempt to defend the cause of one community against another, because for us both Cypriot communities form a single people sharing the same rights and duties. The purpose of these remarks is, rather, to call for the restoration of unity and to reiterate our attachment to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of a State Member of the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Our fidelity to the fundamental principles of those two organizations, as well as to many others, enjoins that attitude on us.

70. The situation that prevails in Cyprus is grave and delicate, and if it is to tackle it successfully the Council must be firm in seeking implementation not only of past decisions but also, and above all, the one it will take as a result of this series of meetings. We believe the Council should particularly emphasize the imperative need for the parties strictly to abide by its decisions and find the proper ways and means to strengthen the role of the Secretary-General, to whom we should like to pay a well deserved tribute for his untiring efforts.

71. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Afghanistan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

72. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): Mr. President, it is with great rejoicing and pleasure that the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan takes note of the fact that a person of so many high qualities has been entrusted with the task of steering the Council in its deliberations on a very complicated issue. Your exemplary wisdom, your rich and vast experience and your well-established reputation as a master of the art of diplomacy are all valuable and much needed assets in ensuring the useful and constructive discussion of the question before the Council. To all that should be added the pleasant fact that you represent a great country which for the first time in man's history denounced the use of force in international relations and adopted a foreign policy based on the principles of good-neighbourliness, friendship and co-operation among nations. Mutually faithful and consistent application of those cardinal principles in the relations between our two countries has provided history with one of the most brilliant examples of friendly and fraternal relations between nations. We wish you every success in the fulfilment of your responsible duties.

73. I wish to congratulate very warmly the representative of the fraternal Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Vladimir Alekseyevich Kravets, on the outstanding and most commendable manner in which he guided the Council's work last month.

74. The Security Council is once again requested by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus to convene to consider yet another ominous development on the unfortunate question of Cyprus. The gravity of the present situation in Cyprus, as stated in the letter dated 30 April 1984 from the representative of Cyprus to the President of the Security Council [*S/16514*], arises from new actions expressed in the "exchange of ambassadors" between Turkey and the illegal régime established in the occupied territory of the Republic of Cyprus in violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter and the provisions of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on the matter.

75. Less than six months ago the international community was struck by the appalling news of the unilateral declaration of independence by the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. That declaration, which dealt a severe blow to all the efforts of the international community to bring about a peaceful and acceptable solution to the question of Cyprus, cast serious doubt on the professed sincerity and willingness of the Turkish Cypriot leadership regarding the negotiations. That secessionist action came at a time when the world had attached great hopes to the efforts of

the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to find an early solution to the Cyprus issue on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions, the decisions and declarations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the high-level agreements on 12 February 1977 and 19 May 1979.

76. Only a few months before the unilateral declaration aimed at the partition of Cyprus, the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries reiterated its full solidarity with and support for the people and Government of the Republic of Cyprus and reaffirmed its respect for that country's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment. The heads of State or Government also expressed their deep concern at the fact that part of the Republic of Cyprus continued to be under foreign occupation, and they demanded the immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces as an essential basis for the solution of the Cyprus problem. They welcomed the proposal made by the President of Cyprus for the total demilitarization of Cyprus.

77. It was against that background that the international community was unequivocal and almost universal in condemning the declaration of 15 November 1983. The Security Council, after considering the complaint by Cyprus, deplored the declaration of the Turkish Cypriot authorities of the purported secession of part of the Republic of Cyprus, considered the declaration as legally invalid and called for its withdrawal. It called upon all States not to recognize any Cypriot State other than the Republic of Cyprus and requested the Secretary-General to pursue his mission of good offices in order to achieve the earliest possible progress towards a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus.

78. Since then the Secretary-General has pursued his commendable and tireless efforts. Regrettably, however, the potentially dangerous situation on the island has not only persisted but continues to deteriorate as a result of further provocative actions and announcements by the leadership of the Turkish Cypriots, the most recent of which prompted the convening of this series of Security Council meetings.

79. We listened most attentively to the passionate and moving statement of the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Spyros Kyprianou, who rightly warned the international community of the grave consequences of the present action for the future and the very existence of the Republic of Cyprus [*2531st meeting*]. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan fully associates itself with the demand that not only should an end be put to such actions but appropriate measures should be taken to reverse all previous actions taken in violation of the principles of international law and the provisions of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on Cyprus.

80. Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in a message addressed to the President of the Republic of Cyprus, stated:

> "The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as you know, has always stood for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and recognizes only one Cyprus —the Republic of Cyprus.
>
> "I would like to assure you once again that the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will continue their resolute support for the restoration of the territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Cyprus."

81. In conclusion, I should like to express the Afghan delegation's gratitude to you, Mr. President, and through you to the other members of the Security Council for according it the privilege of participating in the Council's debate on the question of Cyprus.

82. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Guyana. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

83. Mr. KARRAN (Guyana): I wish to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for permitting my delegation to address the Council on this agenda item.

84. Permit me at the very outset to extend to you, Sir, my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. The international community is well aware of your experience and diplomatic skill, which give us the assurance that the Council's work will be competently guided during the month of May. May I take this opportunity also to pay a special tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Vladimir Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, for the capable manner in which he conducted the Council's business during the month of April.

85. The Security Council is meeting again at the request of the Government of Cyprus to consider the grave situation in Cyprus. It was only in November of last year that the Council was forced to meet as a result of the events which took place there on 15 November The declaration of the Turkish Cypriot community on that date purporting to create an independent State has caused much concern the world over. That action is definitely an attempt to consolidate and to give legitimacy to a situation created by invasion and occupation. As we are all aware, it has been denounced by the international community.

86. As a consequence of that illegal act, on 18 November the Security Council adopted resolution 541 (1983), which *inter alia* deplored the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot authorities of the purported secession of

part of the Republic of Cyprus, considered the declaration legally invalid and called for its withdrawal, and requested the Secretary-General to pursue his mission of good offices in order to achieve the earliest possible progress towards a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus.

87. My delegation compliments the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts in pursuance of his mandate under resolution 541 (1983), as reflected in his report contained in document S/16519. The realistic proposals he submitted deserve greater attention and consideration by the parties concerned. The international community had looked forward hopefully to progress when the talks were initiated under the auspices of the Secretary-General. But the response from the Turkish Cypriot authorities left no doubt, if there had been any, of their intention.

88. On 10 April 1984 this intention became manifest, when the Turkish authorities, in keeping with their partitionist policy, announced their intention to hold a "referendum on a new constitution" on 19 August and "general elections" in the occupied areas on 4 November. These decisions are in clear and flagrant violation of resolution 541 (1983) and in direct conflict with the proposals submitted by the Secretary-General.

89. Guyana has always taken a special and keen interest in the question of Cyprus. At stake here are the principles of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, non-use of force in the settlement of disputes, and non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

90. My delegation listened carefully to the address delivered by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Spyros Kyprianou, on Thursday, 3 May. He explained in the most lucid terms the possible fate of his country should the international community fail to act to bring a halt to the current illegalities and reverse the trend of events. My delegation feels that the responsibility rests with the Security Council, and the more so with its permanent members, to ensure that the Republic of Cyprus remains a unified State.

91. General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. In March last year at New Delhi the heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries also reiterated their support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

92. My delegation listened carefully to the statement made to the Council last Thursday by Mr. Denktaş as representative of the Turkish Cypriot community. Guyana has always advocated that the legitimate rights of the Turkish Cypriot community should be respected. However, we cannot see any justification for the illegal acts perpetrated by the leaders of that community. In total disregard for the international community, the Turkish Cypriot authorities proceeded to create institutions and *faits accomplis* which tend to place insurmountable hurdles in the path of any peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem.

93. My Government has the honour of serving as a member of the non-aligned contact group on Cyprus and as a member of the Commonwealth action group on Cyprus. We are committed to the peaceful resolution of the problem of Cyprus based on the principles of international law and the relevant United Nations resolutions.

94. My delegation feels that the Secretary-General has a very important role to play in finding a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem. He has said in his report:

> "The members of the Security Council will wish to give careful thought to the steps that will have to be taken in order to prevent any further deterioration of the situation." [*See S/16519, para. 23.*]

And he added:

> "It is for the Council now to assess the present situation and to decide what action needs to be taken to revitalize the search for a peaceful settlement and to provide it with the necessary political support." [*Ibid., para. 24.*]

My delegation expresses deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for continuing to make his good offices available to this cause.

95. The Security Council must take such measures as to ensure the implementation of its resolutions on this problem. Its resolution 367 (1975) called on the parties concerned to refrain from any action which might jeopardize the negotiations between representatives of the two communities and to take steps that would facilitate the creation of the climate necessary for the success of those negotiations. The Council has a duty to ensure that the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the small State of the Republic of Cyprus be respected.

96. The President of the Republic of Cyprus has made an appeal to the Council and the international community. His call for the Council's support deserves a positive response.

97. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

98. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam): Last month my delegation had an opportunity to congratulate Mr. Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on his assumption of the presidency of the Council. He fulfilled his duties brilliantly and that responsibility is

now yours, Mr. President, the skilful, experienced and talented representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Allow me to say how pleased I am to see you presiding over this body for the month of May. I am confident that you will be successful in guiding the work of the Council. I also wish to express my thanks to all the members of the Council for giving me another opportunity to take part in this important debate.

99. Time and again we have had to take up the question of Cyprus in the Council. For the past nine years the General Assembly and the Security Council have been seized of the developments on that once peaceful island. Its two communities had been mingling there for years without any problem because Cyprus had carefully preserved its independence and unity and its status as a founding member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and as a Member of the United Nations. Then came the foreign military occupation of its northern part, followed by attempts to change the demographic composition and social structure of the occupied areas.

100. As Mr. Kyprianou, the President of Cyprus, has convincingly pointed out to the Council, they have been brazenly and gradually carrying out a premeditated scheme of permanent partition of Cyprus, which has culminated in the proclamation of the establishment of a separate State. In his words, a divided Cyprus could not survive, for that could be the end of Cyprus.

101. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, in a statement by the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry distributed under the symbol S/16174, joined the world public in denouncing and condemning this act of partition. Yet, in total disregard of the wishes of the international community, of Security Council resolution 541 (1983) declaring the aforementioned proclamation null and void and of the continued exercise of his good offices by the Secretary-General, the separatists, supported by a big foreign country, decided to exchange so-called ambassadors with the latter—which the Secretary-General considers as having placed in jeopardy his current efforts—and to proceed with the so-called constitutional referendum and elections aimed at legalizing the partition.

102. Meanwhile, the legitimate Government of Cyprus, for its part, has been making every effort to bring about national reconciliation and unity. It is also anxious, as stated in its letter of 11 January 1984 to the Secretary-General [*S/16272*], to secure as soon as possible a peaceful, just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the Cyprus problem that would take into due account the legitimate interests of both communities on the island. But so far there has been no response to those efforts.

103. What is going on in Cyprus can be better understood in a broader perspective. These events are direct consequences of the plots hatched by the imperialists. It is their common practice to sow the seeds of discord, mistrust and hostility among peoples and States, to resort to the use of force, to cause tensions and to create instability in various regions of the world, thus serving the arms race and their global strategy. Cyprus, with its strategic significance, has caught the eye of the evil forces, which makes it what it is now. Not only are the independence and unity of Cyprus undermined, but peace, security and stability in the Mediterranean and adjacent areas and in the world at large are endangered as well.

104. The situation in Cyprus has now reached a new, critical point which deserves special attention. The independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of Cyprus, as well as its very existence as a unified country, have been gravely threatened. A small, non-aligned country Member of the United Nations runs the risk of being erased from the political map of the world. The fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the basic norms of international law are being trampled upon. The President of Cyprus himself had to come to New York and address the special plenary meeting of non-aligned countries convened at the United Nations Headquarters. The representative of India, the chairman of the meeting, on behalf of the participants, expressed concern about the situation in Cyprus and firmly pledged support for its people, in conformity with the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

105. We come from a country that was forcibly divided for more than 20 years. The imperialists, with the connivance of international reactionary forces, made the utmost effort to prolong the partition for their own benefits. But we fought the longest war in history, with great sacrifices, and succeeded in reunifying our country. From our own experience we can say to the people of Cyprus that we fully understand and really share their overriding concern; we completely support their resolve to exercise their right to self-determination, their efforts to seek national reconciliation and a comprehensive political solution to the problem. We are convinced that the conditions should be created to enable the people of the island to solve their internal affairs without any interference or pressure from outside.

106. My delegation commends the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to contribute to finding a peaceful solution to the problem, which he sees to be the better way. The events in Cyprus have created a dangerous precedent. The same thing might happen in other parts of the world as well—South-East Asia for one. Would we stand aside and watch if the expansionist Power in Asia were to manipulate a community of people of the same origin as itself in a third country to split away and set up a separate State? We demand that the manipulator country stop meddling in the internal affairs of Cyprus and let the people there decide their own destiny. Time is running out for Cyprus. We fully believe that some stronger action should be taken right now.

We call earnestly upon the Council to show more serious concern about the situation in Cyprus, to provide the Secretary-General's mission of good offices with the necessary political support and to take urgent and effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter to guarantee the implementation of the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

107. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

108. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Mr. President, I should like first to say how pleased I am to see you presiding over the Security Council. Your well-known talent and diplomatic still guarantee the successful guidance of the meetings, which are of particular importance to the international community. I also wish to thank members of the Council for the opportunity to take part in the debate. Similarly, I express my delegation's gratitude to Mr. Vladimir Kravets, your predecessor in the chair, Sir, representative of the fraternal Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, for the impeccable manner in which he presided over the Council's work during April.

109. As on previous occasions, we are meeting once again to consider the situation in Cyprus, a small non-aligned country whose independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity are seriously jeopardized as a result of foreign occupation and actions taken to make a *fait accompli* of the partition of the country by military might.

110. Indeed, several months ago the Security Council saw the need to condemn the unilateral declaration of independence by the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community and to condemn the establishment of a so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus as defying the rule of law and the efforts of the United Nations to bring about a peaceful settlement to the question of Cyprus. Today the Council has to deal with not only the refusal of those leaders to end the illegal situation that they created but also new steps, such as an exchange of ambassadors between Turkey and the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, intended to lend validity to something lacking any legal foundation.

111. Like other members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Cuba has always advocated a peaceful, negotiated settlement to the question of Cyprus, which of course presupposes the holding of meaningful, open talks between both communities on the island on an equal footing.

112. In the months before the unilateral declaration of independence by the Turkish Cypriot leaders we cherished the hope that the dialogue fostered by the Secretary-General would lead to something acceptable to both parties to the conflict. Since the events of November 1983, however, we have been met with the refusal of those leaders to implement Security Council resolution 541 (1983) and more recently with the new steps to which I have referred, which, unfortunately, seek to create an impenetrable barrier between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot nations.

113. Whatever the arguments advanced—and we listened carefully to what the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community, Mr. Rauf Denktaş, said in the Council—we can only agree that the measures adopted by the Turkish Cypriot side contravene the resolutions of the United Nations and make increasingly difficult the achievement of a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the conflict.

114. We are aware of the legitimate rights that can be claimed, and indeed are claimed, by representatives of both communities and of the basic fact that there are two communities, a fact which defines the nature of the Cypriot State. These are inescapable elements of any real solution. But we are also aware that acts of force can never replace agreements reached around the negotiating table, where every party willingly agrees to what is just and reasonable and meets the legitimate interests of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot peoples.

115. In his dramatic statement to the Council, President Spyros Kyprianou warned us of the dire consequences for the independence of Cyprus of the unchecked development of the process started by the occupation of part of the national territory by foreign forces, followed by last year's unilateral declaration of independence. The responsibility for what has happened in Cyprus rests, of course, on those who have abandoned the path of negotiations and have sought to impose the way of force, even on the members of the Security Council, who must not disregard the urgent appeal of the President of Cyprus nor allow the Council's own resolutions to be violated.

116. The process has indeed been long and arduous, and today we are in the same position as we were in 10 years ago—or perhaps even further from a just, lasting solution. Nevertheless, the events and the very process itself show that no one has come up with a better formula to resolve the question of Cyprus than that accepted by the United Nations and advocated by the Non-Aligned Movement. We must therefore insist on a resumption of the negotiations and on the need for the Secretary-General to play the role of catalyst in them.

117. In this regard, we must stress the demonstrated good will of the Government of Cyprus in the face of the crudest provocations and its decision to opt for the path of negotiation. We were able to verify that decision during our visit to Cyprus as part of the non-aligned contact group, about two years ago, and throughout the process, including the period since the unilateral declaration of independence.

118. The Government of Cuba deplores the most recent actions taken by the Turkish Cypriot leaders, which flout Council resolution 541 (1983). I refer in particular to the decision to exchange ambassadors between Turkey and the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which we regard as null and completely invalid, because it deals a heavy blow to the endeavours of the international community, and in particular the Secretary-General, to promote a negotiated solution. It also runs counter to law. The rebellious attitude of the Turkish Cypriot leaders towards the decisions of this Organization deserve our vigorous protest. The Council should condemn their actions and take measures to discourage their continuation.

119. Despite all this, and even given the seeming intransigence of the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community at present, it would not be reasonable to abandon the path to a negotiated peaceful settlement laid down by the United Nations if we really want to preserve the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Cyprus, on the basis of the harmonious coexistence of the Greek and Turkish communities.

120. Hence, my delegation shares the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report of 1 May 1984, which is the view of those who have declared themselves in favour of dialogue and the resumption of honest negotiations between the two Cypriot communities, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, as soon as possible.

121. Of course, all this will be possible only when the steps taken last November and more recently have been reversed. In other words, only when there has been an explicit renunciation by the Turkish Cypriot side of those actions can there be a successful return to the negotiating process which we all advocate.

122. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba is bound to the Republic of Cyprus by indestructible ties. We have always unswervingly defended its right to independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status, in other words, its right to decide its own future without outside interference. We therefore reject the unilateral declaration of independence. Today as in the past our support for the just cause of Cyprus is unwavering. That support is not only part and parcel of the philosophy of the Non-Aligned Movement but also the inescapable duty of this Council.

123. We are confident that the members of the Council will not fail to adopt the appropriate measures based on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations called for with justice by the Government of Cyprus and the international community.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.

NOTES

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475.

[2] *Conference on Cyprus: Documents signed and initialled at Lancaster House on 19 February 1959*, Cmnd. 679 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1959).

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THIRTY-NINTH YEAR

2536th MEETING: 9 MAY 1984

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Page

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2536) 1

Adoption of the agenda 1

The situation in Cyprus:
Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514) 1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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2536th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 9 May 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Oleg A. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2536)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Cyprus:
   Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

The meeting was called to order at 11.35 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:
Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2531st to 2535th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to take places at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Cuba, Ecuador, Guyana, Jamaica, Mongolia, Sri Lanka, the Syrian Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Dountas (Greece) and Mr. Kirca (Turkey) took places at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Jacobs (Antigua and Barbuda), Mr. Woolcott (Australia), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Karran (Guyana), Mr. Carr (Jamaica), Mr. Erdenechuluun (Mongolia), Mr. Wijewardane (Sri Lanka), Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Hungary, Panama and Saint Lucia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Rácz (Hungary), Mrs. Noriega (Panama) and Mr. St. Aimee (Saint Lucia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The first speaker is the representative of Mongolia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. ERDENECHULUUN (Mongolia) [*interpretation from Russian*]: Permit me first of all to express our profound satisfaction at seeing you, Mr. President, guiding the work of the Security Council in May and to wish you every success in the discharge of that important function. We wish to express our sincere gratitude to your predecessor, the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Vladimir Kravets, for his skilful and extremely tactful guidance of the Council's work last month.

5. We are grateful to all members of the Council for affording us this opportunity to take part in the discussion of the item which is now under consideration.

6. Rather more than five months has elapsed since the Security Council adopted resolution 541 (1983), of 18 November 1983, in connection with the declaration by the leadership of the Turkish community in Cyprus of the creation of the so-called independent State in the northern part of the island. The Council in most unambiguous terms declared that unilateral action to be legally invalid and called for its withdrawal.

7. At that time the Mongolian People's Republic, in a statement by the representative of the Foreign Ministry dated 18 November 1983 [*S/16172, annex*], expressed profound concern at that separatist action which ran counter to the fundamental interests of the people of Cyprus and United Nations decisions and created a serious threat to peace and security in the region.

8. The attention of the Security Council has now been drawn to new actions leading to a further exacerbation of the situation in Cyprus. In direct violation of resolution 541 (1983), the leadership of the Turkish community has taken a number of steps designed to legitimize the dismemberment of Cyprus. The intention has been declared to hold a constitutional referendum and elections in August and November 1984 respectively. On 17 April there was a ceremonial presentation of "credentials", purportedly establishing diplomatic relations between Turkey and the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

9. In our view, these and other actions not only pose a threat to the efforts of the Secretary-General but fundamentally undermine the basis for a political settlement of the Cyprus problem. Therefore, the Mongolian delegation finds entirely well-founded the request of Cyprus for an urgent convening of the Security Council to consider the situation and to take prompt and effective measures to implement United Nations resolutions.

10. The gravity of the situation that has arisen in and around that country as a result of these separatist actions has been clearly and cogently demonstrated in the statement in the Security Council on 3 May [*2531st meeting*] by the head of the Cypriot State, President Spyros Kyprianou. His statement contained an urgent appeal for the taking of immediate measures to reverse the process which is liable to threaten the territorial integrity and, what is more important, the very existence of an independent State Member of the United Nations.

11. The Mongolian delegation has studied attentively the latest report of the Secretary-General [*S/16519*], which describes in detail the events of the past few months and his efforts within the framework of his good-offices mission. As the Secretary-General himself states, "The developments outlined in this report speak for themselves." [*Ibid., para. 23.*]

12. With regard to the situation in Cyprus, we believe it necessary to draw attention once again to the overt and covert attempts on the part of certain circles to turn the island into a military strategic spring-board of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the area of the eastern Mediterranean. The machinations of these circles are leading to an exacerbation of tension in that part of the world and are aimed at the maintenance of the *de facto* partition of the country.

13. The Mongolian People's Republic has always consistently supported, and continues to support, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and its policy of non-alignment. We believe that the internal affairs of Cyprus can and must be resolved, taking due account of the interests of both communities. To this end, there must, as we see it, be a cessation of military or any other kind of intervention from outside, a withdrawal of all foreign troops and the elimination of military bases on the territory of Cyprus.

14. We agree with the Secretary-General's view that "One important requirement [will] be the maintenance of a continued process of communication and negotiation" [*ibid.*]. In this, of course, an irreplaceable role must be played by the good offices of the Secretary-General, a function which the Mongolian People's Republic supports and appreciates very highly.

15. In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that the Security Council will take decisions aimed at bringing about a political settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

16. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Costa Rica. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

17. Mr. ZUMBADO JIMÉNEZ (Costa Rica) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Sir, I should like to express my delegation's sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Your intellectual gifts, skill and diplomatic experience are a guarantee in the Council's deliberations. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor and to the other officers of the Council.

18. How often in this forum have we seen a confrontation between universally shared principles and the arbitrary use of force by some? How often have we met in an effort to halt aggression, to ensure respect for human rights or to speak out against violence? How often has there been a temptation to use weapons to solve complex problems, leading to short-lived victories that generate permanent conflicts? How often have we seen that obfuscation which scorns dialogue, promotes injustice and prolongs crisis? How often have the lessons of history been ignored and people been dazzled by fleeting victories won by the use of bayonets?

19. Whenever and wherever necessary, more and more of us must raise our voices against the use of force to solve conflicts and demand respect for civilization.

20. My Government is convinced that the victory for peace we seek in the context of Cyprus will be found only in a united and freedom-loving Cyprus, one which denounces any attempt to legitimize rights created by a foreign force. How ironic that on the native soil of Aphrodite solutions should be sought by violence.

21. In addition to protesting the act of defiance of Security Council resolutions 365 (1974), 367 (1975) and 541 (1983) which has brought us here today, Costa Ricans unconditionally support President Kyprianou's proposal for complete demilitarization of Cyprus.

22. Costa Rica did away with its armed forces in 1949, and since that time we have learned that dialogue and peaceful compromise lead to genuine solutions, no matter how serious the conflicts. Our freedoms have flourished and our economic progress has been enhanced. When on occasion we have been faced with dramatic external threats, we have been able to appreciate the tremendous strength of a people defending itself with principles. No one understands better than we the value of a proposal for complete demilitarization and the prospects for freedom and growth this path offers. We in Costa Rica could never remain impassive to so cherished and civilized a proposal.

23. It is when the complete renunciation of force gives way to thought and action that the boundless capacity for understanding between men and peoples is comprehended. The most fanatic religious and political struggles must be calmed in order to find ways towards understanding. The greatest economic and cultural differences must find paths towards equality.

24. If the impatience of weapons prevails over dialogue every time a serious problem arises, we shall eventually blow the world to smithereens. The nuclear threat is not just a matter of warheads; unfortunately, it also has to do with those who have no faith in dialogue, politics and civilization. What is civilization if not the possibility of our resolving differences without destroying ourselves? In this sense we hope that the good offices of the Secretary-General will be welcomed in a way befitting the present situation.

25. When I think of the serious problems affecting Central America, I think also with fear that if similar methods to those being used in Cyprus were used there, the magnitude of the problems and suffering could become indescribable.

26. Therefore we reaffirm our solidarity with Cyprus, in the knowledge that we are reaffirming a commitment to peace, as well as our trust in civilization and our faith in mankind.

27. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) [*interpretation from Russian*]: Mr. President, permit me to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your diplomatic experience and mastery and the great authority and profound respect which you so deservedly enjoy among the delegations to the United Nations undoubtedly will permit you to discharge your functions as President of the Security Council in an excellent fashion. We wish you every possible success. I should also like to thank you and all delegations that have offered kind words to the President of the Council for April.

28. The Ukrainian SSR, like the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations, has always unswervingly and consistently supported the position of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and its non-aligned status. On this basis we voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) of 1 November 1974 and of all subsequent decisions on the Cyprus question. It is with great regret, however, that we note that in spite of the vigorous appeals by the General Assembly contained in these documents for countries to refrain from any unilateral actions that might have an adverse effect on any just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem by peaceful means, and notwithstanding the relevant decisions of the Security Council, the situation in the island has continued to deteriorate, seriously threatening international peace and security in the Mediterranean.

29. Tension reached a particularly high point when, in defiance of Security Council decisions, the leadership of the Turkish community in Cyprus unilaterally declared the creation of a so-called independent State in the northern part of the island, which had already been under foreign occupation for 10 years. We categorically condemn this latest separatist act leading to the partition of Cyprus, something which strikes at the very foundations of the settlement of a problem advocated by the United Nations. The Ukrainian SSR expresses its support for the timely reaction of the Security Council contained in its resolution 541 (1983) of 18 November 1983. In that resolution the Council reaffirmed its previous resolutions on this question, declared the separatist action as legally invalid and called upon "all States and the two communities in Cyprus to refrain from any action which might exacerbate the situation".

30. In accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, decisions of the Security Council are binding on Members of the United Nations and must be complied with. However, this decision of the Council went unimplemented. Moreover, further steps have been taken which leave us in no doubt that what we are facing is open disregard of a decision of the Security Council, which bears major responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. This is demonstrated by recent facts set forth in the statement in the Security Council on 3 May by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou [*2531st meeting*], and in the report of the Secretary-General [*S/16519*].

31. The Ukrainian SSR views the "exchange of ambassadors" as a violation of Security Council resolution 541 (1983). We share the concern of many States at the new steps taken by the leaders of the Turkish community in the island aimed at the partition of Cyprus, in defiance of the clearly expressed will of the Security Council and the efforts of the Secretary-General within the framework of the good-offices mission entrusted to him. We are profoundly convinced that the separatist action of the Turkish Cypriot administration in the creation of the so-called independent State and measures

to give it legal form do not improve the situation of the Turkish community and can only complicate even further the possibility of bringing about a settlement acceptable to both sides.

32. Most recent events in Cyprus have once again made it amply clear that the intrigues and manoeuvres undertaken by external forces against the Republic of Cyprus for many years now are not slackening. The United States and its NATO allies are intent upon converting the island into a military spring-board for NATO in the eastern Mediterranean, viewing it as an important stronghold on the way to the Middle East.

33. The Ukrainian SSR favours a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem, without any outside interference, by means of constructive negotiations on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Cypriot State and its non-aligned status. We are in favour of the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the elimination of military bases in Cyprus. We attach great significance to the continuation of the good-offices mission of the Secretary-General.

34. In our view, the Security Council must continue to strive to bring about compliance with its decisions on the Cyprus problem and create the foundations of a long-lasting settlement.

35. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Saint Lucia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

36. Mr. St. AIMEE (Saint Lucia): Mr. President, first, please accept the thanks of my delegation for allowing us to address the Council on the matter before it. May I also express my delegation's pleasure at your possession of the mantle of leadership of the Security Council for this month. In the same vein, may I express thanks and appreciation to the President of the Council for the month of April for the work that was done.

37. The question of Cyprus has intermittently engaged the concerns of the Security Council and the General Assembly for over two decades, and since 1964 the United Nations has played a very direct role in attempting to attenuate hostilities through its Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus. Yet the problem in Cyprus has remained insoluble as the chronicle of the past 20 years in Cyprus has brought us occasional hope and frequent despair.

38. At the very heart of the question of Cyprus has been an issue that is of fundamental concern to many States Members of the Organization—that of the security of small States. In the case of Cyprus matters of security have always been clear-cut. In other areas of the world threats to the security of small States are much more subtle. But the objective is always the same.

39. In reaction to the events of July 1974 in Cyprus, the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session adopted resolution 3212 (XXIX), in which it, *inter alia*, called upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus and to refrain from all acts and intervention directed against it. That resolution was later endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 365 (1974) of December 1974.

40. The *status quo* in Cyprus, which is, of course, the end result of a fratricidal conflict often fuelled from external sources, is a classic example of the unwillingness or inability of the international community in general to act decisively to assure the security of small States. It is a sad fact of life that after all the international admonitions have been delivered and the palliatives applied, the small State, if it is to remain a sovereign entity, must act in conjunction with trusted friends to assure its own security and that of its treaty-bound neighbours.

41. Saint Lucia fully supports the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of Cyprus. We believe that there is an urgent need to settle the question of Cyprus. However, we take the view that the solution to the problem in Cyprus lies with the people of Cyprus themselves; hence, they should be allowed to resolve it without any foreign interference whatsoever. Saint Lucia affirms the inalienable right of the Republic of Cyprus and its citizens to full and effective sovereignty and control over the entire territory of Cyprus, and we urge all States to recognize and respect that right.

42. Saint Lucia has no doubt that the people of Cyprus, through the medium of the intercommunal talks and continued dialogue and with the aid of the good offices of the Secretary-General, can find a mutually acceptable, just and lasting solution to their problem if they are allowed to negotiate it without undue foreign interference. Hence, we believe that the onus now lies on this Council to act decisively to ensure an environment which lends itself to the peaceful solution of the question of Cyprus.

43. The Organization is once again called upon to solve a problem involving the peace, security and territorial integrity of one of its Members. This time, the threat to peace and security has in fact been carried out in the manner of the partitioning of a State. While it may be seen as only a Cyprus problem, one cannot overlook the implications for the region if a solution is not found and the problem is not resolved peacefully. Threats to States and regions, especially those States and regions that are militarily weak, should never be taken lightly. In many ways the plight of small States remains in the hands of the Organization, through this Council. The situation in Cyprus provides an opportunity once again for the Council to act decisively. Failing that, no small State will feel secure, and the implications are very frightening. Security arrangements would then become

too necessary, as they have already in some regions, creating a further economic burden on the limited resources of these small States.

44. Only positive action by the Council can reverse the present trend. The resolution of the issue at present before the Council could go a long way towards restoring the confidence of small and militarily weak States in particular in the Organization as a whole, and in international relations in general, which is so necessary for the preservation of peace.

45. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Bulgaria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

46. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) [*interpretation from French*]: I should like first to thank the members of the Security Council for giving me this opportunity to take part in the present discussions. I should also like to congratulate you, Sir, very warmly on your election to the presidency of the Council for the month of May. My satisfaction is all the greater because of the excellent relations of friendship and fraternity that bind our two countries. I am convinced that your vast experience, political wisdom and diplomatic skills, which are recognized by all, will enable the Council to carry out the complex, responsible tasks with which it is faced at present. I also pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Vladimir Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the Council's work during a period marked by important events.

47. I take this opportunity to remind the Council that today's meeting is being held on 9 May, an important date which marks the historic victory over fascism of the anti-Hitler coalition, with a decisive role being played by the Soviet Union. This date has become a symbol of the aspirations of peoples to eliminate militarism, aggression and war from the life of humanity, aspirations which are the basis of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This historic date reminds us never to forget the millions of victims and makes us increase our efforts to ensure that future generations are spared the horrors of war.

48. The Security Council was informed by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus of the latest political development in the island, following which the tension has worsened. The members of the Council have heard the statement by Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of Republic of Cyprus, in which he explained the situation created.

49. Situated in the same geographical region as Cyprus, the People's Republic of Bulgaria sincerely desires the creation and strengthening of a climate of peace, security, trust, mutual understanding, good-neighbourliness and co-operation between all the countries of the Balkan and eastern Mediterranean region. As has frequently been emphasized by the President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mr. Todor Zhivkov, all this leads my country to do all it can to strengthen peace in our shared region.

50. The unilateral declaration of a "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" and the subsequent efforts to produce a constitution run counter to the interests of the Cypriot people as a whole and are fraught with danger for peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean region. The announcement of plans to hold a "referendum on a new constitution" and "general elections" represents a new step along the secessionist path in Cyprus. All these actions are contrary to Security Council resolutions, including resolution 541 (1983), which states that the declaration of a "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus", aiming at the secession of part of the Republic of Cyprus, is considered to be legally invalid.

51. These actions are in contravention of relevant General Assembly resolutions, in particular resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was endorsed by the Security Council. In other words, these actions run counter to the desire of the international community that the question of Cyprus be resolved through negotiations. The resulting situation cannot but arouse grave concern in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

52. My country's position has been set forth on a number of occasions in the United Nations. It is a position of principle and is unalterable. Despite their differing ethnic origins, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots are united by an historical destiny and by common traditions and interests. They must be allowed to resolve their internal problems and differences free from all foreign interference and to live in harmony in a united Cyprus. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is opposed to any efforts that might lead to secession from the island, as well as to its transformation into a foreign military base.

53. My country has always been in favour of efforts for a lasting, peaceful and just settlement of the problem of Cyprus that would guarantee the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, taking into account the rights of both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

54. It is of paramount importance today that we prevent and refuse to tolerate any unilateral act which might lead to a deterioration in the situation and to subsequent exacerbation of the conflict. In this connection I recall the communiqué of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, adopted at their Budapest meeting on 20 April last, which states, *inter alia*:

> "the participants in the meeting expressed the firm conviction that there are no issues that could not be resolved through talks, if they are conducted on the basis of a constructive approach and political will to

attain positive results, with due regard for the vital interests of the peoples, the interests of peace and international security" [*see S/16504, annex*].

55. The initiative of the Secretary-General, aimed at bringing about a just and lasting settlement of this problem holds out genuine prospects of success, despite the difficulties encountered. As was stressed during the Secretary-General's recent visit to Sofia, my Government supports his efforts to bring about a constructive dialogue between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots.

56. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has a high regard for the policy of non-alignment pursued by the Republic of Cyprus. My country is thoroughly convinced that the difference between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots can and should be resolved through negotiations between them, on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions and free from all outside interference and pressure. Furthermore, we are fully convinced that a peaceful settlement of the problem of Cyprus in the interests both of the Greek Cypriots and of the Turkish Cypriots can be achieved only on the basis of guarantees of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

57. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Hungary. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

58. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): Mr. President, at the very outset I should like sincerely to thank you and, through you, the other members of the Security Council for inviting my delegation to participate in the current deliberations and for giving me the opportunity to express our views with regard to the item on the Council's agenda.

59. It is a great honour and privilege for me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. It is a pleasure for me to see in the chair of this body a distinguished diplomat of the USSR, a country with which we have fraternal relations. I express my confidence that your well-known and widely recognized diplomatic skill and wisdom will contribute greatly to the success of the work of the Council. I wish also to express our sincere appreciation of the outstanding manner in which Mr. Kravets, representative of the Ukrainian SSR, conducted the business of the Council last month.

60. It is not without a sense of sorrow that my delegation joins in the present discussion. Less than a year has passed since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 37/253, and less than half a year since the Council had to meet at short notice to discuss the deteriorating situation on the island of Cyprus and to adopt resolution 541 (1983).

61. A comprehensive, overall solution to the problem of Cyprus is still not on the horizon, despite the efforts of the Organization, and especially those of the Secretary-General, in assisting the parties to achieve the earliest possible progress towards a just and lasting settlement. Unfortunately, the latest developments have only caused the situation to worsen, as convincingly set out in the statement made here by President Kyprianou of Cyprus.

62. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic attaches great significance to the quest for a peaceful, viable and lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus. Such a solution must be based on full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus, in accordance with the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. We consider also that foreign intervention should cease and that all foreign troops and military personnel and every other military presence should be withdrawn from the island, in order to facilitate the solution of the Cyprus problem. Proceeding from these general considerations, we wish to point out that attempts to divide the country and actions to strengthen the division between the two communities are contrary to the interests of the Cypriot people as well as to the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, specifically Security Council resolution 541 (1983), which called upon all States not to recognize any Cypriot State other than the Republic of Cyprus.

63. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has always been against imposing a solution on the people of Cyprus, who have suffered for so long. The Cypriot people, whose continuing tragedy has been inflicted upon it by unlawful acts by outside forces, has our deep sympathy and solidarity. We continue to believe that the forum of the intercommunal talks provides the most appropriate framework within which the substantive issues can be tackled and resolved.

64. Accordingly, my delegation wishes to express its concurrence with the view expressed in the course of the present debate by many previous speakers that the solution of the question of Cyprus must be based on the resolutions of the United Nations, as well as on the Makarios-Denktaş guidelines of 12 February 1977 [*see S/12323, para. 5*] and the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979 [*see S/13369, para. 51*] arrived at between the President of the Republic of Cyprus and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community.

65. The situation in Cyprus is a problem of international magnitude, the continuation of which jeopardizes and threatens the peace and security not only of the eastern Mediterranean but also of Europe, and the crisis makes its effect felt also on the outlook for and prospect of international peace and security in general. As a matter of fact, forces alien to the region have made and still are making use of this situation, for their own selfish purposes, for manipulation and interference in the eastern Mediterranean.

66. The Hungarian delegation reaffirms its full support for the Republic of Cyprus and calls for scrupulous respect for its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status. The strict and consistent implementation of United Nations resolutions is indispensable if we are to succeed in our mission. The idea of holding an international conference on Cyprus should also be borne in mind. In these endeavours the continuation of the good offices of the Secretary-General is indeed essential. We wish to express our deep appreciation to him for his tireless efforts and dedication to the search for a viable solution and for the assistance he has offered to the parties on repeated occasions to bring about a meaningful dialogue between them. The good offices of the Secretary-General have been and remain essential for the resolution of the Cyprus problem. We can only express our full support for him in his difficult and responsible mission.

67. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Bangladesh. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

68. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): Permit me at the outset, Mr. President, to thank you and the other members of the Council for giving my delegation this opportunity to participate in the Security Council debate on the situation in Cyprus. I also wish to congratulate you very warmly, on behalf of the Bangladesh delegation as well as on my own behalf, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month. We are confident that under your outstanding leadership and proved diplomatic skill the Council's deliberations will lead to fruitful and constructive results. May I also convey our deep appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Vladimir A. Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, for the excellent manner in which he guided the work of the Council during the month of April.

69. My delegation has followed with interest the current deliberations in the Council, which has been convened to consider the latest developments, namely, the recent exchange of ambassadors between Turkey and northern Cyprus and the decision of the Turkish leadership to hold a referendum on a constitution and elections later this year. The Council has before it in document S/16519 of 1 May 1984 the report of the Secretary-General. President Kyprianou of the Republic of Cyprus, in his opening statement [*2531st meeting*], and other representatives who have subsequently made statements, emphasized the need to maintain the unity and the territorial integrity of Cyprus. We listened to their statements with great attention. We paid equal attention to the statements made by Mr. Rauf Denktaş and the representative of Turkey, who apprised the Council of the genesis of the Cyprus problem and the circumstances which led to the latest developments.

70. The Security Council has been seized of the Cyprus question for the last two decades, and we are all painfully aware of the unfortunate events which led us to the present situation, in which Cyprus is virtually divided into two separate entities. My delegation therefore fully shares the perception that the recent developments in Cyprus should not be viewed in isolation from the unresolved overall question which developed soon after the country became independent and, more particularly, after the breakdown of its constitutional setup in 1963.

71. Bangladesh's position on the Cyprus question has been firm and unequivocal, and we have consistently supported the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Cyprus. In light of the genesis of the present problem, Bangladesh, in the debate on the Cyprus question in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, as well as at summit-level meetings of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth, has consistently advocated an early amicable settlement of the Cyprus question that would enable the Turkish and Greek communities in Cyprus to live in safety, dignity and honour. We are equally convinced that no solution of the problem can be lasting unless it takes into account the legitimate aspirations of both the communities in Cyprus.

72. Given the situation, it has been our confirmed belief that the only realistic course open to the Council in the search for a solution is the continued encouragement of intercommunal talks, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, based on the fundamental and legitimate rights of the two communities in accordance with the high-level agreements which they themselves reached in 1977 and 1979. These agreements, aimed at the establishment of an independent, bicommunal and non-aligned federal Republic of Cyprus with full territorial integrity, were welcomed by the overwhelming majority of the world community. It is a matter of deep regret that the intercommunal talks did not make much progress. Our profound concern was expressed by Mr. Aminur Rahman Shams-ud Doha, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, when, in his statement at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, he stated:

> "The lack of progress in the intercommunal talks between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities has been a cause of concern to all of us. We urge both communities to engage in meaningful discussions for reaching a mutually acceptable solution of the problem that would enable them to live in honour and dignity within the framework of a federated Cyprus, where the rights of both communities will be fully protected. These talks have continued much longer than was expected, and unless there is some progress in the immediate future, the situation in Cyprus may take an irreversible turn."[1]

73. Our apprehensions proved correct when, out of a sense of sheer desperation and frustration provoked by the lack of any meaningful dialogue, the Turkish Cyp-

riot community and its leadership made a proclamation of independence last November. Should the international community ignore the fact that during the past 20 years the rights of the Turkish Cypriot community as co-founder of the State of Cyprus have been trampled upon? Was this not a violation of international law?

74. The Council met after the proclamation and adopted a one-sided resolution which did not take into account the historical and cultural aspects of the process of the political evolution of Cyprus. We were convinced that the adoption of such a resolution would neither serve the cause of conciliation nor strengthen the Secretary-General's mission of good offices. Quite expectedly, the Turkish Cypriot leadership categorically rejected the resolution.

75. The Commonwealth Heads of State, who met at New Delhi in November last year soon after the Council debate, also considered the Cyprus problem. Our President, Lieutenant General Ershad, who led the Bangladesh delegation at the meeting, emphasized that the intercommunal talks should be continued so that a united, federated, non-aligned Cyprus could emerge. He also urged the New Delhi meeting not only to try to bring the two communities together but to establish contact with the Turkish community as well with a view to creating a climate of friendship and reconciliation between the two communities. The Bangladesh President also cautioned that mere condemnation and the adoption of a strong resolution would further aggravate the problem and mitigate against the efforts of the two communities of Cyprus themselves to find a negotiated solution to the problem.

76. In his latest report the Secretary-General has indicated the steps that he undertook in pursuance of the Security Council resolutions that renewed his mission of good offices. It contains his five-point scenario providing a necessary framework for the resumption of high-level intercommunal talks. The report also contains, in annex IV, the four-point proposal made by Mr. Denktaş in his letter to the Secretary-General of 18 April 1984. The members of the Council are no doubt aware that the five-point scenario and the four-point proposal are compatible. In his statement the Turkish Cypriot leader also made it clear that his community continues to adhere to the concept of a united Cyprus within a bi-communal, bi-zonal and federal framework as provided for by the 1977 and 1979 high-level agreements and the 1980 opening statement of the Secretary-General [*S/14100, annex*]. Such positive signs reinforce our firm belief that it is not too late to retrieve the situation in Cyprus and that it is still possible to develop the spirit of conciliation and coexistence among the two communities.

77. It would be quite easy for the Council to pronounce its verdict on the immediate developments, but would that serve the cause of conciliation in Cyprus, which we all cherish? The tragic developments of the last 20 years have demonstrated again and again that the establishment of a bi-communal, bi-zonal and federal Cyprus is the only solution to the problem. While it is still a viable proposition, a beginning has to be made towards that end through the resumption of the intercommunal talks. The Secretary-General, while expressing his disappointments at the evolving situation in Cyprus, has also assured the Council that he is prepared to carry on his mission of good offices as long as there is unambiguous support for it.

78. In the light of the foregoing it is quite clear that a sound basis exists for the continuation of the Secretary-General's good offices. Such a sound basis should not be impaired through the adoption of another one-sided resolution, which would result in the irretrievable loss of the co-operation of one of the communities—co-operation which is so essential to the success of such an effort. The Council should therefore make every effort to revitalize our common search for a peaceful settlement by providing the necessary political support for the good offices of the Secretary-General, which would in turn facilitate his task by encouraging a dialogue and negotiations. Every effort should therefore be made to adopt a resolution which is acceptable to both sides. Instead of blaming one party or the other, we should urge both communities to engage in meaningful discussions and apply themselves seriously to the task of reaching a mutually acceptable agreement. The past tragic events have shown us that the protracted deadlock in the intercommunal talks caused by the imposition of conditions by one community on the other has only exacerbated the situation and further compounded the problem. The right of the Turkish community to equal status and partnership was clearly recognized in the 1960 Constitution, and these rights cannot now be qualified or diminished.

79. In conclusion, in his report the Secretary-General has left it to the Council to assess the present situation and to decide what action needs to be taken to revitalize the search for a peaceful settlement and to provide his mission of good offices with the necessary political support. The Bangladesh delegation would like to reiterate that this is indeed a historic opportunity for the Council to set in motion a process of meaningful negotiations, a process attentive to the painful history of the past 20 years. We must all act together to channel the course of events in Cyprus in the right direction. If we fail at this moment, posterity will not forgive us for our lack of vision.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.

NOTE

[1] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, vol. I, 18th meeting, para. 252.

UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-NINTH YEAR

2537th MEETING: 10 MAY 1984

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Page

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2537) 1

Adoption of the agenda 1

The situation in Cyprus:
Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514) 1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2537th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 10 May 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Oleg A. TROYANOVSKY
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2537)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Cyprus:
   Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

The meeting was called to order at 12 noon.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:
Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2531st to 2536th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to take places at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Guyana, Hungary, Jamaica, Mongolia, Panama, Saint Lucia, Sri Lanka, the Syrian Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Iacovou (Cyprus), Mr. Dountas (Greece) and Mr. Kirca (Turkey) took places at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Jacobs (Antigua and Barbuda), Mr. Woolcott (Australia), Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Karran (Guyana), Mr. Rácz (Hungary), Mr. Carr (Jamaica), Mr. Erdenechuluun (Mongolia), Mrs. Noriega (Panama), Mr. St. Aimee (Saint Lucia), Mr. Wijewardane (Sri Lanka), Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the German Democratic Republic in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The first speaker is the representative of Panama. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

4. Mrs. NORIEGA (Panama) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I thank the members of the Security Council for having permitted me to speak. I wish first to say how pleased my delegation is to see you, Sir, as President of the Council for the month of May; we congratulate you on your assumption of that office. It gives me personal pleasure to be making my first statement before this body at a time when it is presided over by such a worthy representative, whose acknowledged prestige, valuable experience, tact and ability promise even-handedness and success in the Council's deliberations and in its fulfilment of its vital responsibilities. At the same time, I take this opportunity to convey to the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Vladimir Kravets, our satisfaction at the competence and efficiency with which he guided the Council's work in April.

5. From the outset, my Government has closely followed the development of the events which have now impelled the President of the Republic of Cyprus to make his urgent appeal for the Security Council, as the primary guarantor of international peace and security,

to consider and resolve, as a matter of urgency, the serious situation in that small Republic.

6. It would be redundant for us to repeat or to endorse facts and actions which have already been set before the Council and other relevant representative bodies of the community of nations. But we note with alarm and concern that while there has been recourse to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations for settling disputes between countries peacefully and for redressing violations of clear norms of international law, the necessary political will of the countries involved to achieve positive, tangible results has been lacking.

7. We believe that the *de facto* situation in Cyprus, brought about by occupation by foreign troops and gradually exacerbated by a unilateral attempt to split the territory and community of Cyprus in two, places in jeopardy the fundamental right of a small country devoid of military might to sovereignty, territorial integrity, internal unity and its own identity within the community of nations.

8. As a small country vulnerable to incursions from stronger countries, a friend of the people and Government of Cyprus, a member of the group of non-aligned countries, of which the sister Republic of Cyprus is a founding member, and as a country which signed and respects the Charter of the United Nations, we wish to reaffirm the solidarity of the Government of Panama with the Republic of Cyprus and its Government in the just claim they are now reiterating before the Council. That support confirms the position taken at the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly on 5 October 1982, at the 18th meeting, by Mr. Jorge E. Illueca—then Vice-President of Panama and now President of our country and of the General Assembly itself—a position which was reiterated in the Assembly on 12 May 1983, at the 119th meeting, by Mr. Carlos Ozores Typaldos, then representative of Panama to the United Nations and now Vice-President of our country. We support Security Council resolutions 365 (1974), 367 (1975) and 541 (1983), and the Declarations of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, which expressed support for the people and Government of the Republic of Cyprus and respect for the independence, unity and non-aligned status of that country.

9. My delegation expresses its deep appreciation of and admiration for the praiseworthy efforts made by the Secretary-General in the difficult missions entrusted to him. We also reiterate our confidence in the ability of the supreme organs of the United Nations to resolve this conflict, and especially of this Council, whose decisions—both those I have mentioned and the one it will be taking shortly—should be observed immediately by the parties to the conflict. This will be the most effective way of promoting and preserving peaceful coexistence among countries.

10. The right to survival claimed today by the Republic of Cyprus is a right which we all share and which we too can claim for ourselves at some time. The grave situation in Cyprus is a challenge, in the final analysis, to the integrity and effectiveness of the Charter of the United Nations. We must not forget that the United Nations is all and each of our countries.

11. In conclusion, I should like to quote the thoughts of John Donne as expressed in one of his best-known works: "if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were . . . and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

12. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

13. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): It gives me great pleasure to extend to you, Oleg Aleksandrovich Troyanovsky, most cordial congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. Your great political and diplomatic skills, your long-standing and persistent activity for the strengthening of peace and international security and your devotion to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations are the guarantee that you, as the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with which my country is linked by fraternal bonds, will successfully guide the responsible work of this body during this month. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic would also like to congratulate the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Vladimir Alexeyevich Kravets, who with great diplomatic skill directed the complicated work of this Council during the previous month.

14. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic also thanks the members of the Council for giving us the opportunity to explain here our country's point of view on the question of Cyprus. We support the convocation of the Council at the request of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus in connection with the serious situation existing on the island as a justified measure to counter any further aggravation of the tensions. Indeed, the worsening of the crisis in Cyprus constitutes an extremely serious threat to peace and security in the region and to world peace in general.

15. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic appeals urgently to the Security Council to fulfil its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and to initiate measures to prevent a further aggravation of the situation and form a starting point for the resumption of efforts aimed at achieving a negotiated solution of the question of Cyprus.

16. The Government of the German Democratic Republic and its delegation to the United Nations have on various occasions time and again made it clear that

the German Democratic Republic stands resolutely in favour of preserving the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. We decisively oppose all actions which undermine those principles and are directed at the division of Cyprus. Such separatist acts undertaken over the past few months in that part of the territory of Cyprus which is under foreign military occupation exacerbate the situation on the island and make it harder to achieve a peaceful settlement of the problems through negotiations.

17. The General Assembly and Security Council have repeatedly made clear demands and put forth proposals for the achievement of a solution of the question of Cyprus. Last year, in resolution 541 (1983), the Security Council called upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and not to recognize any Cypriot State other than the Republic, and it called upon all States and the two communities in Cyprus to refrain from any action which might exacerbate the situation. How is it then possible that the demands contained in that resolution and other decisions on the question of Cyprus adopted by the United Nations, as well as the efforts of the Secretary-General, can simply be ignored?

18. Even the crocodile tears shed in well-known imperialist quarters over the deplorable developments in Cyprus cannot veil the fact that the answer to this question has to be found within the wider context of the imperialist policy of aggression and domination. Those in imperialist quarters, above all in the United States of America, which declares the whole region of the Mediterranean and the Middle East to be a so-called zone of vital interest, are in no way interested in settling the question of Cyprus through negotiations, respecting the non-alignment of Cyprus and, as demanded by Spyros Kyprianou, the President of Cyprus, demilitarizing the island.

19. The concentration of huge naval forces, the establishment of more and more new military bases, the establishment of so-called rapid deployment forces, the persistent stirring up of tensions and the destabilization of Governments and States, as well as the stationing of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe —which, by the way, could also become operational against the Mediterranean and the Middle East region—are part and parcel of the imperialist policy of threat and war.

20. Only recently a devastating defeat was inflicted in the Middle East region upon those imperialist factions and the establishment of an imperialist military bridgehead in Lebanon was prevented. The question is rightfully asked whether the old intention of transforming the island of Cyprus into an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" is now to be turned into a reality using all available means. Are the imperialist military bases on Cyprus to be preserved and new ones set up by leaving the question of Cyprus permanently open?

21. It is now time finally to comply with the Cypriot people's wish for peace, security and independence. There is only one way to do this, namely by way of negotiations. The Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic signed on behalf of our country the communiqué of the meeting of the Committee of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty held last month at Budapest, in which the following reference is made to the solution of international conflicts:

> "The participants in the meeting stressed the immutability of the principled course of their States at eliminating the existing centres of tension and armed conflicts all over the world and at preventing the emergence of new ones, and at settling all the international disputes by peaceful means, through talks. They reiterated their solidarity with the peoples fighting for freedom, independence and social progress, for economic development and against the policy of imperialist aggression, colonialism and racism." [*See S/16504, annex.*]

22. Regarding the solution of the question of Cyprus, this means reversing the unilateral division of Cyprus and carrying on constructive negotiations on the basis of relevant United Nations decisions. The German Democratic Republic will in the future also support all decisions and measures to this end. The just struggle of the people of Cyprus against imperialist oppression and interference from outside will continue to have the support of the German Democratic Republic.

23. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus, Mr. George Iacovou, has asked to speak. I welcome him and invite him to make his statement.

24. Mr. IACOVOU (Cyprus): As this is the first time that I have spoken in this debate, Sir, I should like to extend to you my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council for the month of May. It is a source of pleasure for us that the presidency of this body is occupied by the representative of the USSR, a friendly country with which we enjoy very close and friendly relations. Your vast diplomatic experience, your talent and your charm already augur well for the successful deliberations of the Council. I would also like to express my appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, for the excellent manner in which he guided the work of the Council in the month of April.

25. Even while the Council is considering the grave situation in Cyprus resulting from the continuous violations of its mandatory resolution 541 (1983) and studying ways to reverse them, the Turkish side is warning this body that it will continue with further illegalities in order to consolidate the secessionist act of 15 November 1983. On 3 May 1984, the day the Council was convened [*2531st meeting*], we read statements by

the Turkish Cypriot leadership to the effect that "in the search for a Cyprus solution the return of Varosha to the Greek Cypriots is impossible".

26. A few days earlier it was publicly declared that the illegal régime in the occupied area was planning to open part of the new town of Famagusta to settlement by persons other than its inhabitants, thus, in the context of recent developments, adding insult to injury. Even now, today, while the Council is meeting, threats of the settlement of Varosha continue unabated. There are reports in today's Turkish Cypriot newspapers that with the incitement of the Turkish leadership, the occupation of houses in the new city of Varosha has already begun.

27. Equally serious, indeed potentially dangerous, is Turkey's and the Turkish Cypriot leadership's intention to change the status, function or deployment of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). This was quite evident from their refusal to concur in the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP last December.

28. Determined to have a free military hand, Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership, in mid-December 1983, refused to concur with resolution 544 (1983), which extended UNFICYP's mandate. Even after the Council adopted that resolution, Mr. Denktaş declared his rejection of that mandatory resolution and made it known that at a later stage he would interfere with UNFICYP's *modus operandi* and deployment in Cyprus. On 17 March 1984 Mr. Denktaş again threatened to prevent the extension of UNFICYP's mandate if the Council or the General Assembly passed another resolution in favour, as he said, of the Greek Cypriots. As recently as 20 April Mr. Denktaş was making menacing noises about the extension of UNFICYP's mandate if my Government were to approach the Security Council again.

29. The presence and unhindered functioning of UNFICYP are essential to the maintenance of peace and security. Threats against UNFICYP are threats against the quest for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. The withdrawal of UNFICYP is likely to lead to incidents along the cease-fire line, possibly ending in a major conflagration. The threats against UNFICYP thus constitute a potential threat to international peace and security in the area.

30. Today, almost 10 years after the Turkish invasion and the occupation of 37 per cent of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus by Turkish troops, the situation is more critical than ever. The Turkish occupation forces are still on our soil, in violation of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. Not one of the 200,000 Greek Cypriot refugees has been allowed to return to his home and lands. The fate of missing persons remains unascertained. Over this period Turkey and its organs in the occupied area have systematically pursued their plans to consolidate the division and the results of the invasion by importing tens of thousands of settlers from Turkey, to whom they have illegally distributed the properties of the forcibly expelled refugees by issuing so-called title deeds to these properties, by abolishing the Cyprus pound and replacing it by the Turkish lira, by establishing a so-called central bank and by other *faits accomplis*.

31. Turkey is solely responsible for what is happening in the occupied part of Cyprus, in fact and in law. Turkey continues to exercise actual and exclusive authority over this area. The occupied area is saturated with Turkish troops; there is one soldier for every four members of the population, including women and children. If one takes into account also the settlers from Turkey, then the proportion is one Turk from Turkey to every two members of the Turkish Cypriot community. It is thus impossible for any independent action to be taken by the Turkish Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriot leadership in fact expresses the will and policy of Turkey. That leadership is no more than a political fig-leaf covering the body of aggression. A persuasive statement made by Mr. Denktaş himself speaks for itself: "Whether I believe it or not, whether I consider it right or not, I do whatever Turkey says." That is taken from the 5 October 1982 edition of *Yeniduzen*.

32. The European Commission of Human Rights, an international body of distinguished European jurists, after considering the case of *Cyprus v. Turkey* on violations of the human rights of Cypriots by Turkey, held that sole control over the Turkish occupying forces is vested in the Government of Turkey and that its presence in the occupied area engages Turkey's international responsibility in respect of all persons or property over which they exercise control. That appears in the report of the Commission in the case of *Cyprus v. Turkey*, 10 July 1976, page 32; in the decision of 10 July 1978 on the admissibility of Application No. 8007/77; and in the report on Application No. 8007/77, paragraphs 21 and 22. That same report found Turkey guilty of crimes and of flagrantly violating the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the people of Cyprus.

33. Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership are now in blatant breach of Council resolution 541 (1983). They have ignored paragraph 2, calling for the withdrawal of the declaration of the purported secession; they have ignored paragraph 3, calling for urgent and effective implementation of the Council's earlier resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975); they have acted contrary to paragraphs 4 and 5 by frustrating the Secretary-General's mission of good offices and effectively declining to co-operate; and they have breached paragraph 6 by violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. Turkey has ignored paragraph 7 by formally recognizing, by its "ambassadorial exchange", the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Both Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership have trampled on paragraph 8 by repeatedly taking new and yet further actions leading to

the exacerbation and deterioration of the situation in Cyprus.

34. Turkey's recent conduct in establishing a puppet State and formally recognizing its so-called Government reveals the threadbare character of the justification given by Turkey for its 1974 invasion of the Republic of Cyprus. Its claims no longer have a shred of plausibility. Indeed, Turkey is in material breach not only of the 1960 treaties specific to Cyprus but also of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations—annexed to General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV)—and the principles embodied in the Helsinki Final Act, to which it is a signatory. In addition, under article 3 *(e)* of the 1974 Definition of Aggression—in the annex to General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX)—it is guilty of aggression against the Republic of Cyprus by virtue of the use of its armed forces within the territory of the Republic in contravention of the peremptory norms of international law and the conditions provided for by the Treaty of Guarantee.

35. Turkey is in breach of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations by virtue of its use of force against the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and in a manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations, and in particular by its lack of respect for and non-observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language or religion, as required by Article 55 of the Charter.

36. Ankara's plans against Cyprus are becoming more and more manifest every day. Its deeds speak louder than its words. In order, allegedly, to provide security to the Turkish Cypriots, Turkey invaded Cyprus, violated its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, occupied almost 37 per cent of its territory and in the process eliminated a high percentage of its population, at the same time uprooting from their homes and lands in the occupied area almost twice as many Greek Cypriots as the total Turkish Cypriot population of the whole of Cyprus. Of course, the Greek Cypriots, who represent 80 per cent of the total population of Cyprus, have, according to this reasoning, no rights whatsoever to be respected by Turkey and its military forces.

37. On the same reasoning, the few intercommunal clashes of the 1960s, which were instigated by Turkey, are intentionally magnified and exploited in order to justify the imposed artificial separation of our people. Echoes of the provocative invective that was used in the past to arouse in Turkish Cypriots feelings of hatred and enmity towards their Greek Cypriot compatriots have been heard in this Chamber, and unfounded allegations about the usurpation of the rights of Turkish Cypriots have been repeated. Closer investigation is more likely to prove that the Turkish Cypriot population has been the victim of its leadership. However, it is not my intention to go into a long presentation of the many well-known facts. A sample of such facts must suffice.

38. Mr. Emin Dirvana, the first ambassador of Turkey to Cyprus—a legal ambassador to the Republic of Cyprus—in an interview given to the Turkish newspaper *Milliyet* on 15 December 1964 revealed Turkish tactics when he spoke clearly about

> "the irresponsibility of the extremist terrorist Turkish Cypriot leadership in Cyprus, which disregards the true interests of the Turkish community and concentrates on promoting division and friction between the two communities".

39. Let Mr. Dirvana now speak about the first bloody incidents in Cyprus—before independence. The following statement by him was also published in *Milliyet*:

> "I was informed that on 7 June a bomb had been planted in the Turkish Press Office in Nicosia by persons who, as was established later, had nothing to do with the Greek Cypriots. The Turks of Nicosia were then incited 'to be overwhelmed by holy indignation' and perpetrated acts similar to those committed on 6 and 7 September in Istanbul."

40. Mr. Fazil Küçük, the Turkish Cypriot Vice-President of Cyprus, wrote the following in his newspaper *Halkin Sesi*, on 29 February 1964, describing the events of 1963:

> "The Greeks are in a state of distress in the full sense of the word. Starting from Nicosia, in all clashes the Greeks suffered great losses, but they did not give the casualty figures. The Turkish fighters have pledged to fight on until the realization of partition. The attitude of the Turkish minority has been admittedly one of provoking division and instigating armed conflict with the aim of partition."

41. The recent revelation in the memoirs of Mr. Tahsin, the Chairman of the Turkish Cypriot Teachers' Union, was really shocking. In the Turkish Cypriot paper *Soz*, on 21-22 December 1982, he accuses the Turkish Cypriot leadership of being responsible for placing bombs in Turkish mosques and shrines in 1962. Mr. Tahsin said: "There is no one who does not know by now that the bombs placed in the mosques in 1962 were not placed by Greek Cypriots." He further stated that the purpose of the act was to incite the Turkish Cypriots against the Greek Cypriots. Mr. Tahsin accused the TMT, an illegal Turkish organization, of these acts. Mr. Denktaş, in an interview in *The Times* on 20 January 1978, admitted that he himself had formed the TMT.

42. Attempts have been made from time to time to present the Cyprus problem merely as a conflict between the two communities in Cyprus. The Turkish side always very carefully steers away from touching

upon the substance of this most serious international problem of aggression and continuing occupation, while at the same time it tries to conceal its expansionist aims regarding Cyprus and the annexation of part or all of Cyprus to Turkey at some opportune time.

43. In a recent long interview in the Turkish paper *Tercuman* of 30 June 1983, Mr. Esenbel, former Secretary-General of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, former Foreign Minister and former Turkish Ambassador to Washington, who also played a role in the Zurich-London Agreements of 1959, revealed Turkey's real intention towards Cyprus, admitting that behind its partitionist designs on Cyprus were its own strategic considerations. Mr. Esenbel explained how Turkey became a party to the Cyprus problem through enormous and patient work. He further stated that Turkey accepted only the proposals that were leaving the door open to partition and rejected all proposals, including a proposal by the then Governor of Cyprus, Sir Hugh Foot, when they realized that "the road leading to partition was a bit closed". They accepted Macmillan's plan only when they were given assurances that the right of separate self-determination could be used, and thus the road to partition could also be used. Mr. Esenbel went even further and revealed that the then Turkish Prime Minister Menderes gave them instructions in Zurich to find a formula for Cyprus which would ensure the possibility of Turkey's security, because "it is becoming obvious that at this stage we will not be able to achieve partition". Referring to the present day, Mr. Esenbel stated that "according to the *de facto* situation it is clear on the territory itself, and not on paper, as to how the Cyprus problem will be solved".

44. Any sufferings of the Turkish Cypriot community can be attributed mainly to Turkey's old and still valid policy aimed at the partition of Cyprus. This has been borne out on many occasions by the periodic reports of the Secretary-General. In his report of 11 March 1965 he said, "the Turkish Cypriot policy of self-isolation has led the community in the opposite direction from normality" [*see S/6228, para. 17*], and "the community leadership discourages the Turkish Cypriot population from engaging in personal, commercial or other contacts with their Greek Cypriot compatriots, from applying to government offices in administrative matters, or from resettling in their home villages if they are refugees" [*ibid., para. 55*].

45. In his report of 8 December 1966 [*S/7611*] the Secretary-General stated that for some considerable time the Government had been urging the refugees to return to their homes and that it had repaired or rebuilt an abundant number of Turkish Cypriot houses. However, it was known, the report continued, that the Turkish Cypriot leadership would not allow them to return to their former homes located in Government-controlled areas at the time. To justify this position the Turkish Cypriot leadership stressed considerations of security, although there could be little doubt that there was no question of security and that the major reason for that attitude was a political one.

46. In his report dated 3 June 1969 the Secretary-General states:

> "Whereas Turkish Cypriots may move freely throughout the island except in a few militarily restricted areas, access to Turkish Cypriot enclaves, a number of Turkish Cypriot villages and certain roads continues to be denied to Greek Cypriots. ... the Turkish Cypriots have enjoyed full freedom of movement over the whole island for some time, whilst the Greek Cypriots are still prevented from using some of the Republic's main roads." [*See S/9233, para. 55.*]

47. The Turkish Cypriot population, which is also suffering now under the Turkish military occupation, has many times voiced its concern at the separatist and partitionist attitude of the Turkish side. Indicative of that concern is a statement by Mr. Orhan Kahya, the leader of the Turkish Cypriots who were forced to cross to the occupied area of Cyprus in 1975, published in the Turkish Cypriot magazine *Olay* in 1982. He said:

> "Presently, even the Turkish Cypriot women are exerting efforts to go to their properties in the south and the women are being prevented from doing so. The reason why the people insist on going to the south is that they have properties there. Now they live in misery in the north."

48. The leader of the Turkish Cypriot trade union DEV-IS, Mr. Hasan Sarica, denied the allegation that Turks were suffering before 1974, when he stated:

> "In pre-1974 years the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots worked together in a brotherly manner and the economic position of Turkish workers was excellent. ... After 1974 the economic position of the Turkish Cypriot workers substantially deteriorated. In pre-1974 Cyprus, the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots worked together and shared the same economic profits. The conditions of life of the Turkish Cypriots changed after 1974."

This statement was published in the newspaper *Birlik* on 30 August 1980.

49. The Turkish Cypriot Ministers refused in 1964 to participate in the Council of Ministers of the Republic in order to show, as the then Vice-President, Mr. Küçük put it, "that the Republic was dead" and to promote partition. The agenda of the Council of Ministers continued to be sent to the Turkish Cypriot Ministers for at least one year after they chose not to participate, but they persisted in their refusal. The Turkish Cypriot judges remained in their positions until 1966, but, when they were forced to withdraw on threat of imprisonment by the Turkish leadership, they acted accordingly.

50. It is worth mentioning that the Supreme Court, at the time when it was presided over by a Turkish Cypriot judge, decided that the Government of Cyprus was obliged to take measures under the law of necessity to save the State from collapse.

51. Many Turkish Cypriots who served in the diplomatic missions of Cyprus abroad chose to remain in their positions until the Turkish invasion of 1974. In the High Commission of the Republic in London, Turkish Cypriots continue to serve, some even after they retired from the public service, having applied for and been granted an extension of their service.

52. Despite strong objections by the Turkish leadership, for many years before the invasion there was co-operation among the people themselves, and many Turkish Cypriots were working and co-operating with Greek Cypriots. No intercommunal incidents of any significance took place for seven years before the invasion. During the disgraceful *coup d'état* against President Archbishop Makarios Greek Cypriots were the only victims; not a single Turkish Cypriot was hurt.

53. Attempts to distort the facts as regards the assistance provided to the Turkish Cypriots are easily neutralized by reports of the Secretary-General himself. For example, in his report of 20 May 1971 he stated:

> "To meet the acute demand for skilled workers in certain trades, various courses open to Greek and Turkish Cypriots alike have been conducted by the Cyprus Productivity Centre"—an institution funded jointly by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the Cyprus Government—"For example, 35 Turkish Cypriots participated in an accelerated training programme ... under the supervision of a Turkish Cypriot instructor especially engaged for the purpose ... Similarly, Turkish Cypriot students have been attending courses at the Higher Technical Institute and the Hotel and Catering Institute, sponsored by the Government and the United Nations Development Programme with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the International Labour Organisation as executing agencies, respectively." [*See S/10199, para. 39.*]

54. In his report of 22 May 1974, just a few weeks before the invasion, the Secretary-General stated:

> "co-operation has been evident in connexion with the Morphou/Tylliria water feasibility study ... The UNDP/FAO livestock production improvement project, the veterinary services project and the Cyprus Productivity Centre ... have maintained services to Turkish Cypriots...
>
> "Turkish Cypriots have also shared in the assistance provided by the industrial development services project of UNDP and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and by the World Food Programme projects. Turkish Cypriot participation in the latter programmes has been as follows: school feeding 17.94 per cent, soil conservation 16 per cent and mixed farming 18.56 per cent." [*See S/11294, paras. 45 and 46.*]

55. Even after the invasion, foreign aid to Cyprus, through the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the European Economic Community, the World Food Programme and the World Health Organization Fellowship Programme was always distributed to the Turkish Cypriot community in accordance with its population ratio. An example of this is the assistance provided through UNHCR. Take, for instance, the United States assistance to Cyprus through UNHCR from 1974 to 1981. According to a report by the United States Accounting Office of 30 November 1981, $90.3 million was distributed to the Greek Cypriots and $20.8 million to the Turkish Cypriots. Taking into consideration the fact—stated in the same report—that $58.1 million of the amount given to Greek Cypriots was allocated to the housing needs of the Greek Cypriot refugees, the proportion of useful assistance to the Turkish Cypriots is much higher than their population ratio. The distribution of aid to the Turkish Cypriot community continues today, even after the recent provocations. Similar evidence can be produced for all aid to Cyprus.

56. Since 1964 Turkish Cypriots have been supplied with 20 million dollars' worth of electricity a year. No charges have been collected for that service, which is thus being supplied at the expense of Greek Cypriot consumers. The Government of the Republic has also been supplying the Turkish Cypriots with gas at subsidized rates, the cost of the subsidy being borne by the Greek Cypriot consumer. Medical care is available to any Turkish Cypriot who asks for it and who is allowed by his leadership to come to the Government-controlled area for treatment, and thousands of serious cases have, in fact, taken advantage of this.

57. As regards telecommunications, the Republic has always been prepared to provide the Turkish Cypriots with the full benefits of the telecommunications service, and some do take advantage of the service. There are telephones installed in the occupied area. Two telephone lines are provided to Mr. Denktaş himself. Mr. Denktaş's bills for 1983 exceeded $30,000 and were paid by the Cyprus Government. All telegrams and letters arriving in Cyprus for the Turkish Cypriots are promptly delivered through the United Nations authorities.

58. The first action of many Turkish Cypriots who manage to get out of the occupied area is to visit a Republic of Cyprus embassy or consulate to obtain or renew passports of the Republic of Cyprus in spite of the fact that the régime in the occupied area punishes those who do so. The embassies of Cyprus abroad have issued thousands of passports to Turkish Cypriots since the invasion.

59. For many years now the Turkish side has claimed to place the emphasis for the solution of the Cyprus problem on the intercommunal talks. Yet it refused to attend the talks scheduled to resume at the end of May 1983, a date it had agreed to in advance with the United Nations. In reality the Turkish side never wanted, or participated in, substantive talks for the solution of the Cyprus problem. The Turkish position has always been one of delaying tactics and meaningless proposals, thus leading the talks to a virtual impasse, while preparing the ground, through a series of unlawful measures, for secession.

60. Even the Turkish Cypriots themselves see that the stalemate at the intercommunal talks was created by the Turkish side. A recent article in the newspaper *Milliyet* on 14 April 1983, stated, "The intercommunal talks are enabling the Turkish side to gain time and for this reason the continuation of the talks is regarded as beneficial by some." The Turkish Cypriot paper *Yeniduzen* on 30 August 1983 warned: "No matter what Denktaş says, the world sees the Turkish side as being responsible for the termination of the talks and for the failure of the resumption of the talks, because he puts forward conditions which change daily."

61. From time to time they throw out a challenge concerning a high-level meeting. Members will all remember that this happened also last October. Of course, it was accompanied by threats and the setting of time-limits. After consultations with the Secretary-General we accepted the challenge. An announcement was made to that effect by the Secretary-General. In a responsible and quiet way we started working with the acting Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus on the preparation of the agenda for a meeting that was planned for January of this year. We were already in the second phase of consultations about the agenda when the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Hugo Gobbi, returned to Cyprus to pursue the matter further. The day after his return, and without waiting to listen to him, the Turkish side went ahead with the illegal declaration, once more kicking the United Nations and us in the teeth.

62. The memory of the international community is not so poor as to allow it to forget that the "exchange of ambassadors" and the preparations for a "constitution", a "referendum", "elections" and so on took place a little before the formal rejection of the latest ideas of the Secretary-General, which included a new meeting between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktaş. Again, these acts took place at a time when Mr. Gobbi was in Nicosia, in a last effort to rescue the initiative of the Secretary-General.

63. Who is responsible for the recent deadlock is eloquently revealed, admittedly in diplomatic language, by the most recent report of the Secretary-General, distributed as document S/16519 of 1 May 1984.

64. A Turkish Cypriot leader, Mr. Ozgur, in an interview published in the Turkish Cypriot newspaper *Yeniduzen* on 18 April 1984, a few days before the rejection by the Turkish side of the Secretary-General's initiative, said that Denktaş was trying to "torpedo de Cuellar's initiative", and that if the Turkish side rejected the Secretary-General's proposals Cyprus would face many negative developments. He said further, "A leader who once sowed chauvinism cannot be expected to sow happiness today."

65. The developments outlined above speak for themselves. Turkish "faith" and "goodwill" were put to the test and proved to be non-existent. A recent commentator in the 31 March 1984 issue of the Turkish newspaper *Hurriyet* had the courage to say that "various civilian Governments have come and gone, but Turkey has stuck to a policy of no concession [on the Cyprus problem], as was also confirmed by Evren's recent statement".

66. Countries with military might probably do not need the protection of the United Nations. Small countries, when faced by aggressive neighbours, can preserve their territorial integrity and security only by reposing their faith in the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular. Small, defenceless countries have no other way. Cyprus is a small, defenceless country that has placed its faith in the United Nations and in the Council.

67. It is with grave concern that my Government finds it necessary to return to the Security Council. Turkey is flouting the authority of the United Nations and continuing to violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. In doing so it is challenging the credibility of the United Nations, jeopardizing its effectiveness, usefulness and influence in world affairs.

68. On 18 November 1983 the Security Council, mindful of its responsibilities, adopted resolution 541 (1983) in response to the illegal secessionist act of 15 November. Since then the Turkish side has provocatively proceeded to ignore the provisions of that resolution. We express the certainty not only that the Council will reaffirm its resolution 541 (1983), but that it will examine methods to ensure compliance with it. The Council should, further, specifically condemn any new actions contravening resolution 541 (1983) and the threats of colonization of Famagusta and against UNFICYP.

69. It is my Government's contention that Turkey's conduct towards the Republic of Cyprus in recent months has given rise to a situation likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. My Government, therefore, appeals to the Security Council to discharge with urgency its responsibilities under the Charter by beginning to consider the adoption of such effective measures as are warranted by the situation.

70. The Secretary-General's mandate of good offices should be revitalized and strengthened in order to promote an overall solution of the Cyprus problem. The

Charter and the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions are twin beacons that can light his path and ours.

71. The Council is being asked to save Cyprus. But in asking the Council to save Cyprus we are asking the Council to do justice to many other countries. For, if the Security Council does not protect Cyprus, if it does not reverse the trends, and if the policy of partition succeeds, what will be the future of multicommunal and multiconfessional societies around the world? How many countries will survive in their present form if the standards being imposed by Turkey on Cyprus are applied? In asking the Council to do justice to us we are asking it to do justice to the world and to the principles of the United Nations.

72. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The representative of Turkey has asked to speak, and I now call on him.

73. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) [*interpretation from French*]: At a time when there is serious reason to believe that there may be hope, I have listened with great consternation to the inopportune statement of the representative of the Greek Cypriot administration. He has once again entered a field in which it is very easy to beat him. His arguments have long been known to us and we have demolished them many times.

74. We have a proverb that says, "The lie lasts no longer than the candle, from morning to night, from night to morning"—as Figaro said.

75. I do not think that that statement merits any response. I am determined not to follow his assiduous efforts, which have no other purpose than to torpedo any chance of a resumption of negotiations and of the search for a final solution—at this time, I repeat, when great opportunities exist.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

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OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-NINTH YEAR

2538th MEETING: 11 MAY 1984

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Page

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2538) 1

Adoption of the agenda 1

The situation in Cyprus:
Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514) 1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2538th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 11 May 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Oleg A. TROYANOVSKY
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2538)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Cyprus:
   Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

The meeting was called to order at 11.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:
Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2531st to 2537th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to take places at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, the German Democratic Republic, Guyana, Hungary, Jamaica, Mongolia, Panama, Saint Lucia, Sri Lanka, the Syrian Arab Republic, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Dountas (Greece), and Mr. Kirca (Turkey) took places at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Jacobs (Antigua and Barbuda), Mr. Woolcott (Australia), Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Karran (Guyana), Mr. Rácz (Hungary), Mr. Carr (Jamaica), Mr. Erdenechuluun (Mongolia), Mrs. Noriega (Panama), Mr. St. Aimee (Saint Lucia), Mr. Wijewardane (Sri Lanka), Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Czechoslovakia and Malaysia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. César (Czechoslovakia) and Mr. Zain (Malaysia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/16547, containing a letter dated 9 May 1984 from the representative of Vanuatu to the President of the Security Council, and S/16549, containing a letter dated 10 May from the representative of Cyprus to the Secretary-General.

4. The first speaker is the representative of Malaysia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. ZAIN (Malaysia): Mr. President, I am grateful to you and to the other members of the Security Council for your courtesy in acceding to my request to participate in this debate on the situation in Cyprus. I am particularly gratified to do so, Sir, when a diplomat of your exceptional professionalism and wide experience —and, may I add, of your graciousness and personal charm—is presiding over our deliberations.

6. For reasons which are perhaps obvious and which I need not elaborate, my Government, as a non-member of the Security Council, is normally reluctant to

seek leave to address the Council. However, we have done so on this occasion for two essential reasons: first, because we believe—as indeed President Kyprianou has stated before the Council [*2531st meeting*]—that current developments in Cyprus are so critical that the very existence of a sovereign, independent and united Cyprus is at stake; and, secondly, because we want to express our urgent conviction that unless the Council takes a scrupulously fair and even-minded approach which deals with the problem of Cyprus in all its aspects —its historical context, its bi-national character, its independence born of international agreements and a protracted and difficult liberation struggle, as well as fundamental principles relating to the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of States—it is difficult to see how it can contribute to arresting the dangerous and apparently inexorable developments which are taking place in Cyprus today.

7. The debate on Cyprus has engaged the Council's attention for at least 20 years, and I recognize that it is difficult for a delegation to make any statement which will not be immediately interpreted as being for or against one side or the other in the unfortunate tragedy that has befallen the people of Cyprus—all the people, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot alike. Perhaps a statement equally disliked by both sides is the best we can hope for. Be that as it may, I should like to begin this attempt to make what my delegation hopes is a constructive contribution to the present debate by recalling part of a statement which my Government made on 21 November 1983 in the light of serious developments in Cyprus at that time:

> "Malaysia does not favour any move that would lead to the dismemberment of a sovereign nation. In respect of Cyprus, Malaysia has supported and will continue to support the equality of rights and the legitimate demands of the Turkish Cypriot community as co-partners with the Greek Cypriot community within the framework of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus."

8. That remains our position because we see no peaceful alternative to preventing the situation from inching gradually but inexorably in a direction which both parties, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot alike, have categorically stated they wish to avoid. If one sees a glimmer of hope at all in the deepening gloom, it is surely this one common element, this commitment to a sovereign reunited Cyprus, which has been expressed with such sober dignity by President Kyprianou, a dignity which perhaps underlines his commitment all the more, and with such passionate eloquence by Mr. Denktaş. It is this common element that we should all contribute to building upon.

9. Now I also recognize that with the events and the debates which have taken place over the last 20 years it is not easy for the immediate protagonists, and even for their friends, to restrain their sense of outrage at one development or another, to resist selective quotation from one document or another, or to avoid stressing the primacy of one principle over another, whichever suits their purposes better. All this is understandable, but in these critical times for Cyprus—and I echo again the sobering warning of President Kyprianou—we must all make a supreme effort, for the sake of all Cypriots, to eschew emotions and debating-points, to avoid casting blame or aspersions and to deal not with symptoms but with the fundamental causes of the problem which has bedevilled the international community and which has caused untold tragedy to the people of Cyprus for so long.

10. The international community, if it is to be successful, must now do its utmost to bridge the gap of the mistrust and suspicion which plague the two communities in Cyprus and to adopt an even-handed and impartial approach which recognizes that fundamental principles relating to the sovereignty of States and to the inviolability of national territory must be applied in the particular context of Cyprus, which all must admit —and indeed which all have admitted in one way or another—is *sui generis* in character. If the special character of the leadership of Mr. Denktaş and the special position of the Turkish Cypriots have not in fact been recognized—if, in other words, the situation in Cyprus is not *sui generis*—how can the General Assembly, to quote only from paragraph 10 of resolution 37/253 of 13 May 1983, which echoes previous resolutions, call for

> "negotiations between the representatives of the two communities, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, to be conducted freely and on an equal footing, on the basis of relevant United Nations resolutions and the high-level agreements, with a view to reaching as early as possible a mutually acceptable agreement based on the fundamental and legitimate rights of the two communities"?

11. But of course, part of the art of diplomacy consists in being able to hold two or more mutually contradictory ideas at the same time. By all means let us continue to do so; my only plea is that we should give both equal weight.

12. For its part, Malaysia will do what it can to promote a spirit of conciliation and to contribute to the search for a peaceful and just solution which is acceptable to the conflicting parties. In this enterprise the role of the Secretary-General is crucial. That, indeed, is the other common element which has run through all the statements which have been made in the Council. My delegation is particularly pleased to note that the Secretary-General, in his latest report to the Security Council [*S/16519*], has stated his readiness to discharge his mission of good offices and to maintain a continued process of communication and negotiation. He has added, in paragraph 23, the significant qualification that he will do so "as long as there is unambiguous support for it".

13. We believe such support has already been manifested in the Council, which is a tribute, surely, as much to the high regard in which he is held as to his exceptionally sensitive diplomatic skills, which have enabled him to succeed, despite the recent setbacks, in moving forward the dialogue in Cyprus in very difficult circumstances. But it is unfair to the Secretary-General and to his high office merely to express general support for his efforts. The Council must assist by providing the right atmosphere and the proper conditions in which intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General—the only way to bring about peace and harmony in Cyprus—can go forward. To do otherwise, to do more of the same, to look at or, worse, to condemn specific events in isolation outside the context of the complex situation of Cyprus is to court disaster: no one party should feel itself vanquished or victor after this debate.

14. That is why my delegation urges the Security Council to adopt a truly impartial, constructive and helpful resolution acceptable to both parties, which is denuded of rancour and partiality and which recognizes the realities and complexities of the specific situation of Cyprus, as well as the general principles at stake. That is why my Government, which has grave forebodings about developments in Cyprus, has taken the liberty of seeking to appear before the Council, for which opportunity I again thank you, Sir, and the other members of the Council.

15. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): May I first congratulate you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Council for the month of May. Your great diplomatic skills and wide experience are well known to all of us. I also want to express our appreciation of the impeccable way Mr. Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic performed his duties as President of the Council last month.

16. We have listened with great attention to the previous speakers in this debate. We share the serious concern expressed by almost all about recent developments, which have led to a new deadlock in the search for a just and lasting peace in Cyprus and which have made it necessary for the Council once again to consider the situation in that troubled island. We deeply regret the recent exchange of ambassadors between Turkey and the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, as well as other recent actions by the Turkish Cypriot authorities in defiance of Security Council resolution 541 (1983), which, *inter alia*, considers the declaration of independence by the Turkish Cypriot authorities issued on 15 November last year as legally invalid and calls for its withdrawal. At the same time, this resolution calls on all States and the two communities in Cyprus to refrain from any action which might exacerbate the situation.

17. The Council should not forget, however, that these immediate events are not the only violation of the Constitution of Cyprus of 1960. The Netherlands has always held the view that the settlement of the Cyprus problem should be reached through negotiations on an equal footing between the representatives of the two communities and should guarantee the unity and integrity of Cyprus. The mission of good offices of the Secretary-General to further these aims has always enjoyed the full support of my Government.

18. The recent developments are even more regrettable in that they have come at a time when the Secretary-General has presented to both communities important new suggestions for the resumption of the intercommunal dialogue on the basis of a five-point scenario, which has been outlined in paragraph 14 of his latest report to the Council [*ibid.*]. In our opinion, the Secretary-General is to be commended for having proposed a scenario that should have been accepted by the leaders of both communities as the principal framework for the resumption of their intercommunal talks.

19. The scenario would have committed both communities to refrain from activities that could only further undermine the necessary bases of trust and confidence, without which a peaceful dialogue will remain elusive. The Cypriot Government would have been committed not to take steps further to internationalize the Cyprus problem, in exchange for a commitment by the Turkish Cypriot authorities that there would be no follow-up to the 15 November declaration of independence. These mutual commitments, which the Secretary-General has been seeking from the parties, would have been fully in accordance with the previous high-level agreements of 1977, between President Makarios and the leader of the Turkish community, Mr. Denktaş [*see S/12323, para. 5*], and 1979, between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktaş [*see S/13369, para. 51*].

20. One element of the so-called 10-point agreement of May 1979 [*ibid.*] deserves quoting in full:

> "6. It was agreed to abstain from any action which might jeopardize the outcome of the talks, and special importance will be given to initial practical measures by both sides to promote goodwill, mutual confidence and the return to normal conditions."

As an initial practical measure to promote good will, mutual confidence and the return to normal conditions, the Secretary-General has also proposed in his scenario the phased transfer of the Varosha area to the United Nations. It should be noted again that he did not suggest anything new but only tried to put forward a concrete proposal finally to implement point 5 of the high-level agreement of May 1979, in which Mr. Kyprianou and Mr. Denktaş agreed to give priority to

> "reaching agreement on the resettlement of Varosha under United Nations auspices simultaneously with the beginning of the consideration by the interlocutors of the constitutional and the territorial aspects of a comprehensive settlement. After agreement on Varosha has been reached, it will be implemented

without awaiting the outcome of the discussion on other aspects".

I therefore conclude that the Secretary-General has tried to revitalize the intercommunal talks between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities within the framework of the good offices mission entrusted to him by the Security Council and on the basis of the high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979.

21. The Secretary-General's scenario has so far failed to materialize. In paragraph 23 of his report he remarked, "The developments outlined in this report speak for themselves." They do indeed. We regret that the Turkish Cypriot authorities have deemed it necessary to pursue their declaration of independence even further at a time when the Secretary-General had requested them not to continue their activities, as part of his comprehensive proposal to revitalize the intercommunal dialogue. These activities not only contravene Security Council resolution 541 (1983), but are also difficult to reconcile with the provisions of the 10-point agreement quoted above, on which the Secretary-General has based his patient and dedicated efforts to revitalize the intercommunal talks.

22. We note that Mr. Denktaş has reaffirmed during this debate that he is still ready to resume the intercommunal talks. His statements seem to indicate that the Turkish Cypriot community continues to adhere to the concept of a united Cyprus within a bi-communal, bizonal and federal framework, as provided for by the 1977 and 1979 high-level agreements. We sincerely hope these words will be translated into facts.

23. Many speakers have already pointed out that the Secretary-General's mission of good offices remains indispensable and deserves the unambiguous and unanimous support of the Security Council and of the parties directly concerned. We wholeheartedly agree and are grateful to the Secretary-General for his readiness to continue his mission, in spite of the present setback, as long as there is unambiguous support for it. The Secretary-General has also rightly drawn our attention to another essential requirement—the continued deployment of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) whose presence is more than ever indispensable in the present situation.

24. The Netherlands, for its part, will extend its full co-operation to any constructive effort by the Council that would strengthen the Secretary-General's mission of good offices and provide it with the necessary political support. After the recent events, the Council is in our opinion duty-bound to reaffirm forcefully its principled rejection of the unilateral declaration of independence by the Turkish Cypriot authorities. Given the history of Cyprus, which has been bedevilled by lack of trust on both sides, which has been manifested again in the current debate, it will not be easy for the Council to agree on a constructive course of action that will enhance the prospects of peace instead of stirring up again the flames of animosity and distrust. We should, however, be shirking a major responsibility under the Charter if we did not at least try again to promote conciliation, understanding, confidence and trust between the two Cypriot communities, thereby reviving hopes for a peaceful and just solution to the Cyprus problem.

25. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) [*interpretation from French*]: As this is my first statement to the Council this month, I pay tribute, on your assumption of the presidency, Sir, to your distinguished qualities as a diplomat, based on long experience in international life. We are sure that under your leadership our debate will be conducted with competence and courtesy. We all admire the remarkable ease with which you assume your tasks, and we appreciate your charm and humour, which you often use to calm down our debates when they are in danger of straying from the point. I also pay tribute, Sir, to your predecessor, Mr. Kravets, who presided so diligently over our work last month.

26. When I spoke in the Council on 18 November 1983 [*2500th meeting*], I unreservedly condemned on behalf of my country the serious violation of the territorial integrity, sovereignty, unity and independence of Cyprus represented by the declaration of independence of the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. France naturally voted in favour of resolution 541 (1983).

27. Today France deplores the fact that despite the provisions of that resolution the Turkish Government has decided to establish diplomatic relations with that so-called Republic.

28. My country cannot accept these *faits accomplis*. We would equally condemn the carrying out of the recent threats to take other comparable initiatives. Such measures would be contrary to Security Council resolutions and would further hinder the search for a peaceful solution.

29. France has always regarded the Government of President Kyprianou as the sole legitimate Government of the Republic of Cyprus and has always believed that any solution to the present crisis must of necessity include respect for the unity, integrity, sovereignty and independence of the Republic and imply the withdrawal of foreign occupation forces. That is why on 13 May 1983 my delegation voted for General Assembly resolution 37/253, whose principles are still valid.

30. France agrees with the conclusion of the Secretary-General's report in document S/16519. We desire more strongly than ever that his mission of good offices should continue, for we believe that this is the only way for the parties to resume the necessary dialogue, without which no solution is possible.

31. The Secretary-General's efforts have resulted in a series of constructive proposals which have been put to

the parties. At one point the proposals aroused hopes. It is to be regretted that certain subsequent actions have jeopardized this promising process. We therefore feel that the Secretary-General's efforts must be resumed. In this connection, France would particularly favour the idea of transferring the Famagusta area to interim administration by the United Nations, which was one of the central points in the recent negotiations. Such a transfer would be a concrete manifestation of the good will which is required in any negotiations.

32. Furthermore, my country thinks it particularly necessary, in order to prevent a further deterioration of the situation, to continue the presence of UNFICYP, whose mandate will soon expire.

33. The international community would be unable to comprehend the increasingly clear separation of two communities obliged by geography and by history to get on together. For its part, France must express its hope for a just and lasting settlement strictly respecting Security Council resolutions and the principles of the Charter.

34. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Czechoslovakia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

35. Mr. CÉSAR (Czechoslovakia): First of all, Sir, I should like to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. My delegation is convinced that, under the guidance of a seasoned diplomat whose wisdom is well known and who represents a country and a people with which my own country and people maintain traditional relations of friendship and co-operation, the Council's work will come to a successful conclusion. Also, we wish to thank you and, through you, the other members of the Council for having granted our request to participate in the current discussion of the item on the agenda. I should like also to express our gratitude to your predecessor, the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Kravets, who so effectively and clearly organized the work of the Council in April.

36. The development of the problem of Cyprus in the last six months is generating serious concern in Czechoslovakia. During this time the apprehensions that were voiced in the Security Council last November in connection with the proclamation of the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus proved to be justified. Council resolution 541 (1983), adopted at the conclusion of those meetings, showed the way to resolving the difficult problem justly and in accordance with international law.

37. The international community has, however, been dismayed by the course of events. This is apparent also at the present Council meetings. This disappointment is caused by the fact that, instead of meeting the provisions of resolution 541 (1983), the Turkish side is deliberately acting against the spirit and the letter of that resolution. We have in mind, for example, the exchange of ambassadors between Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot administration, the drafting of a constitution for the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and the preparations for a referendum on that issue. This approach creates further and even more insurmountable obstacles, blocking the way to achieving a just and lasting settlement of the problem.

38. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic does not judge the development of events in Cyprus in isolation from the overall heightening of international tension caused by the forces of aggression, which pursue a policy of force, of diktat and of interfering in the internal affairs and violating the independence and sovereignty of other States. These aggressive forces are trying to turn to their advantage any complications arising in relations between States or peoples.

39. Czechoslovakia has repeatedly expressed in the United Nations its principled and immutable position on the question of Cyprus. On 18 November 1983 the Czechoslovak Government issued a statement in connection with the proclamation of the so-called separate State of Cypriot Turks, to the effect that, among other things, this proclamation undermines the efforts for a just settlement of the problem, is in contravention of United Nations resolutions on the question of Cyprus and, in consequence, places in jeopardy the existence of the Republic of Cyprus as an independent State.

40. Czechoslovakia continues to support unequivocally an independent, sovereign, united, territorially integral and non-aligned Cyprus. At the same time it rejects any violation of the aforementioned principles and encourages the elimination of all possible factors having a negative impact on the development of the problem. Of principal importance, in our view, is the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cyprus and the liquidation of the military bases in the island.

41. As the 20 April 1984 *communiqué* of the meeting of the Committee of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty declares,

> "there are no issues that could not be resolved through talks, if they are conducted on the basis of a constructive approach and political will to attain positive results, with due regard for the vital interests of the peoples, the interests of peace and international security" [*see S/16504, annex*].

In Czechoslovakia's view, precisely this kind of approach is the key to a just settlement of the problem of Cyprus that would be in the interest of the Cypriot people and in the interest of strengthening peace and security in that region. It is, therefore, necessary to create, as soon as possible, conditions for the resumption of a constructive dialogue between the representatives of both Cypriot communities in accordance with

adopted United Nations resolutions. We are of the opinion that the Secretary-General should continue in the future to play an important role in these negotiations.

42. It may be said that this year will complete a decade in the present problem of Cyprus. We appeal to all interested parties to do their utmost to achieve a just settlement of the question of Cyprus before that decade reaches its end.

43. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, not long ago I had occasion to remark in relation to two of your predecessors, that the letter "P" obviously stood for "presidency", and that they had carried out their tasks very well. But you, Sir, are in a special position. I think that in your case—though not, I may say, in mine—the letter "U" stands for "uniquely well qualified". You are the dean of the Council. You have had more experience in the presidency than any of the rest of us and, if I may say so, it shows. Your Government's confidence in you is well deserved. Our thanks also go to your predecessor, the representative of the Ukraine, for his careful and diligent conduct of the presidency.

44. My delegation has listened to this debate with attention. We have done so in pursuance of our responsibilities as a member of the Security Council but also with a special knowledge and experience of the Cyprus problem. If I may say so, some of the contributions to this debate have not been altogether well focused. The situation is very complicated and has a long and convoluted history. This no doubt accounts for the fact that some statements, often with the best of intentions, have contained phrases which may actually be counterproductive to their authors' intentions.

45. In this statement I would like to put the problem before us into sharper focus. There is first the immediate problem raised in the letter dated 30 April 1984 from the representative of Cyprus to the President of the Security Council [*S/16514*]. That deals with the recent purported exchange of ambassadors, which is a subject in its own right. It has implications for the wider and more fundamental problems concerning the relationship of the two communities in Cyprus, the preservation of the Republic of Cyprus and a range of international relations connected with these questions. But it is necessary to make a distinction between the immediate problem of the purported exchange of ambassadors and the more fundamental long-term problems of the situation in Cyprus.

46. As regards the immediate problem, the substance seems to my delegation to be clear beyond dispute. Indeed, it is so clear that we had hoped that the Council would have passed a resolution on the question many meetings ago. Had that happened we would not have thought it necessary to make more than a very short speech or, indeed, perhaps any speech at all. We think there would have been a clear and overwhelming vote on the facts of the situation. My delegation was the author and sponsor of resolution 541 (1983). That resolution stated in unambiguous terms that the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot authorities issued on 19 November 1983 purporting to create an independent State in northern Cyprus was incompatible with the 1960 Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus[1] and the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee.[2] The resolution considered that the declaration was legally invalid and would contribute to a worsening of the situation in Cyprus. I think perhaps we could all agree that we were right in coming to that judgement. The resolution also called upon all States and the two communities in Cyprus to refrain from any action which might exacerbate the situation.

47. It is beyond doubt that the action which is the subject of the 30 April letter from the representative of Cyprus is in contravention of resolution 541 (1983). It is also beyond doubt that it has exacerbated the situation.

48. As I have already said, this is a very simple factual situation on which the Council might well have passed a resolution several days ago. The debate, however, has strayed over a whole range of other questions. I accept that the flouting of resolution 541 (1983) has had a harmful effect on the wider questions, but in this Council we must be careful not to compound the damage by blundering around in a very delicate situation.

49. It has been common ground for a long time that there will be an improvement in the fundamental and long-term situation in Cyprus only if there are serious and timely negotiations directed at removing, perhaps step by step, all the points of disagreement so that the Republic of Cyprus may enjoy sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment. The fundamental document is of course the 1960 Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus.

50. It is also common ground that the best—and, in the circumstances, perhaps the only—way of achieving this object is through the exercise of the good offices of the Secretary-General. Successive Secretaries-General have striven in this field. Agreements have been reached. I recall, for example, the high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979. My Government considers that these principles remain fundamental. Our present Secretary-General, with his unique experience and knowledge of the problem, is ideally suited to bring about a comprehensive settlement. Council resolution 541 (1983) calls upon the authorities to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices.

51. We all subscribe to that. The problem is that some people take steps, some of them inadvertent, some of them intentional, which make the Secretary-General's task much harder. His report of 1 May 1984 [*S/16519*] is clear and convincing testimony to this. The risk is that we are now close to a situation in which such actions will make his task impossible. That is of great concern to my Government.

52. We well understand how, in the heat of the debate or as part of an unfortunate propaganda war, public statements are made which may later be regretted. But, although it is easy to understand, it is hard to condone. Still less can we condone the issuance of threats. It is essential that the parties to this dispute should talk to each other and that all of them should talk to the Secretary-General. We have heard some statements recently which suggest that one or other party is unwilling to do this. If these statements are maintained or if new obstacles are created, we all face the prospect of a deteriorating spiral of events with ever more serious consequences.

53. No party to this dispute has a monopoly of virtue. All parties have made mistakes. All parties have acted in contravention of agreements.

54. In short, while the immediate problem of the purported exchange of ambassadors is clear and simple, the longer-term and more fundamental problem of the situation in Cyprus is very complicated and is getting increasingly dangerous. The simplicities of one question are not to be applied to the complexities of the other. The long-term fundamental problem requires that all parties co-operate with the Secretary-General in the exercise of his good offices while in the meantime refraining from any action which might exacerbate the situation. That is the message which it is essential for the Council to issue in discharging its responsibilities for peace and security.

55. The Council should state its position firmly and persuasively while avoiding actions which would make a settlement more difficult. In our view it can best do this on the basis of certain fundamental principles which are not disputed by either of the parties and have the backing of the international community as a whole. These are: support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus; opposition to and non-recognition of the union of the Republic of Cyprus in whole or in part with any other country and/or any form of partition or secession, including the unilateral declaration of independence, by any part of the Republic; support for an independent, non-aligned, bi-communal, federal Republic of Cyprus in accordance with the provisions of the 1977 and 1979 high-level agreements; support for the continuation of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices, as authorized in paragraph 6 of Security Council resolution 367 (1975), with the objective of promoting, through the resumption of negotiations and in accordance with the above principles, a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem; belief that the main impetus must come from the parties, which should be in no doubt of the urgency of the task; and opposition to any action by anyone which might jeopardize the outcome of negotiations or increase tension in Cyprus.

56. Britain is ready, now as always, to play its full part in such an approach. We shall give every support to the Secretary-General and warmly welcome his willingness to continue with his mission. We call on the parties to co-operate with him and respond constructively to his efforts. Only if they do so will a peaceful, just and lasting solution become possible.

57. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: Mr. Rauf Denktaş, to whom the Council extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure at the 2531st meeting, wishes to make a further statement. With the consent of the Council, I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make that statement.

58. Mr. DENKTAŞ: Members need not be concerned by the many documents I have brought with me. I shall not be reading them all out; they are merely for moral support in this lonely atmosphere.

59. I have listened to the arguments of the Greek Cypriot side, and now I understand very well why, when they are heard in our absence, they obtain the votes. They have said quite openly that the Turkish Cypriot side is guilty of segregation, of dividing the sovereignty of Cyprus—and I think I was referred to as the Ian Smith of Cyprus. I can understand how such a presentation affects the African nations. They have also stated quite openly—in writing and verbally—that if what we did in Cyprus is condoned all nations with multiple populations will have a precedent for splitting up, and the Charter will have been defied and defiled.

60. Such a presentation in the absence of one of the component parts of a sovereign country, of a *sui generis* independent country, is naturally very effective. That is why in all my statements here I have tried—by the Council's leave and as a person under its rules—to tell members the story, the plight and the cause of my community.

61. In response to those who try to equate me with the Ian Smith of the African continent, I ask my African brothers to consider whether, had Ian Smith represented the majority in the land and it had had a constitution stating that the whites and the blacks would form a partnership State, that one side would not override the other and the constitution would be respected, he would have been quite right and entitled under the Charter and in accordance with human rights to proceed, because he had a numerical majority, secretly to arm his police and his young people. Would he have been right one night to attack the blacks and throw them out and keep them outside the constitution and all the organs of the State, to decide that they were all rebels and to keep them in that position fighting for their lives, their territory and their homes for 20 years without being entitled to put the currency of the country in their pocket, without being entitled to cry for justice when they were hurt and murdered, without being entitled to say we are part of this land?

62. Was Ian Smith guilty of sinning against this or that part of the Charter and against humanity just be-

cause he represented the minority and did those things, or would he have been guilty had he represented the majority and had done the same things to the co-founding partners of a joint State? If our dear African brothers and representatives are seeking Ian Smith in Cyprus, let them look to the Greek Cypriot side. Because the Greek Cypriots were numerically many they decided that they could destroy a partnership Republic, a partnership State; it was not a Greek Cypriot State, I repeat. They secretly armed themselves, they invited the Greek army to the island, at first secretly and then openly, and they maintained their attacks on us for 11 years, until 1974. And in self-defence we took preventive, protective measures.

63. I am not saying that we are angels; but we are not the devils they want members to think we are.

64. Now that I have seen the draft resolution that has been distributed and the countries that have sponsored it, I understand that my message has not been heard; I understand that something is lacking. What is lacking is the right to be heard on a basis of equality by those who decide the fate and the lives of others. We have not asked anything more of the Council. We have asked to be heard, but we have not been heard. Had we been asked what this draft resolution would do to us, we would have told you that it would kill the good offices mission of the Secretary-General, which members of the Council want to be continued, which the Greek Cypriots say they need and which we believe to be really necessary. So let us put our heads together and come up with a draft resolution that will be helpful for Cyprus as a whole.

65. Segregation we deny. *Apartheid* we reject. It is not segregation in the circumstances I have just explained, when, after being treated like that, after waiting 20 years for rehabilitation in a partnership State with our full rights, we are told that unless we accept that the Greek Cypriot word is the constitution of the country, unless we accept that we are not a co-founder partner but a minority in a Greek Cyprus, we are not going to come back into any of the organs of the State.

66. Would any member that had been confronted with that situation for 20 years be guilty of segregation if it said, "The land in which we can be happy, live in human dignity and be free should be ours until the other side comes to its senses and decides to re-establish the partnership"? Would it be guilty of segregation or should it be proud of taking this step in order to save its people from harassment, from a policy of destruction, from *apartheid*? That is what I ask the Council to consider. If members have any doubt in their minds I invite them to come to Cyprus to see for themselves and then decide.

67. Another matter on which the other side dwelt very strongly, and with which I understand they have influenced those who contributed to the draft resolution, was an alleged statement in *Hurriyet*, attributed to me, about Varosha. When I make a statement, I make a statement; I do not deny having made it and I explain why I made it. I said that *Hurriyet* version only after it was pointed out to me by the speaker on the other side. I did not make any such statement. I made another statement, but that is irrelevant.

68. My offer of 2 January 1984 on Varosha stands. It is there on the table. In that offer Varosha is a matter to be discussed between my side and the Secretary-General. We are ready to do that, but if the Council puts the question of Varosha in the context in which the Greek Cypriots see it into a resolution, that will destroy that effort. Varosha is a municipal matter. It concerns a part of a little town, in return for which other properties have been left in the south. It is far below the interests of the Security Council. The Council should not be alarmed because it is told something and try to put everything into a resolution, which will not help the Secretary-General but which will destroy his efforts.

69. Another matter on which they challenged us and challenged the Security Council was the question of UNFICYP. UNFICYP is very important, of course. It is so important that when the other side were strong enough, in 1967, to attack the Turkish Cypriots, they first disarmed UNFICYP. It is in the reports of the Secretary-General. They imprisoned them, ridiculed them and attacked and killed unarmed Turkish Cypriot people, in two villages. And, not wanting to spend valuable bullets on the wounded, they poured kerosene on them and burned them.

70. Of course, UNFICYP is important. All the major crimes against us were committed when UNFICYP was told, "We, the Government, are going to attack. Withdraw." Our only hope was that UNFICYP reported to New York. Our only hope was that the Security Council would say "Stop" to Makarios. That is how we were saved, so we know the value of UNFICYP.

71. Why, then, did we not concur with the last resolution on the extension of its mandate? We explained then, but let me explain again now: When a Government which has thrown us out of our part of the constitution, which has taken over the seat of Government by armed force, which for years and years has recognized no law, no constitution, no international treaty, no human rights, for my community, is referred to as "the Government", we object.

72. So, if the other side are really sincere about UNFICYP, can we not find a mutually agreed wording of a resolution which will extend UNFICYP's term of office, and mutually agreed terms of reference for the parties to the Cyprus conflict? Would that not suffice in order to carry on this very important peace-keeping task in Cyprus? Why use UNFICYP in order to rub into our wounded skins the word "Government" in each resolution? Could we not have some resolutions in which, because of the mutual interests of the parties, we could manoeuvre a little in order to accommodate

each other, the United Nations, the Security Council and UNFICYP? Of course we could, but that is not the purpose. The purpose is always to drive us into a corner so that we retaliate, and then to bring us back here and tell the Council what we have done. This game will continue until the Turkish community is properly executed by the decisions of the international body.

73. This is the aim. What they have not been able to achieve by guns they want to achieve through the resolutions of the Council, because they know that the Council does not have the time to stand, to look, to listen and to decide whether those who are talking to it as "the Government" of Cyprus are truly the representatives of the peoples of Cyprus. That is what they base their strategy on.

74. So on UNFICYP, which we will come to within a few weeks, I suggest that we find brief, neutral phraseology, a few paragraphs, to extend its mandate. Then it will be legally located on both parts of the country. We have been accused of not concurring with the extension of UNFICYP's mandate last time because we had other aims in mind and wanted to create a crisis. I think we have proved that not to be correct by agreeing that UNFICYP continue its functions in the north more liberally than ever. There are no complaints whatsoever about our relations with UNFICYP.

75. So we have given the Security Council the chance to decide whether it is important, when extending the mandate of UNFICYP, to include the words "the Government of Cyprus", and thus put us into the corner, or whether it is important to extend the mandate with the agreement of both sides. If the words "the Government" are not included in that resolution, is it going to become less a Government than it is? If our name is not included in that resolution, are we going to be anything less than we are? We must accommodate each other if we are mutually interested in one and the same result.

76. I tell the Council with all deference that we are interested in UNFICYP's continuing its functions in Cyprus. We think it is necessary, we think it is doing a good job, and we think it should be in both parts of the island—legally, and therefore with our consent. The Council should not put its own force at a disadvantage just because one side insists on repeating words which it knows are unacceptable to the other side. They will lose nothing, we will gain nothing, but UNFICYP will be a legal institution in both parts. Those are my views on this matter.

77. Yesterday [*2537th meeting*] I sat here listening to the representative of the Greek Cypriot side and it occurred to me that the saying "exceptions prove the rule" is of great value and practical application. I told the Council in my previous statement [*2534th meeting*], quoting the Secretary-General's reports, that the Turkish members of the civil service were thrown out by force of arms and because of the military situation they could not go back; that members of Parliament were thrown out and could not go back. The representative of the Greek Cypriot side, in order to refute those charges, mentioned that about 35 people, years later, under a special agreement with certain United Nations agencies and with the consent of their side and of ours, had taken up work on their side. So the exception he has cited proves the rule. We were thrown out; we were not allowed back.

78. And, while that was the situation of the civil servants and the parliamentarians, the Council was told that the three Turkish Ministers had withdrawn in order to show that the Republic was dead. If the Council accepts that, I have nothing to say.

79. I look to the Greek side, sitting here in the Council, for some signs of appreciation of the fact that reconciliation can come only if they accept that they did wrong in the past, that they tried to destroy the bicommunal Republic of Cyprus in the name of *enosis*. If they should say, "In that exercise we hurt the Turks immensely; we ejected them. There is no shame in it; it was a national cause." If it is not still a national cause, they should say, "We were misled by our leader Makarios, by Greece. We took a wrong decision. It was wrong to destroy this partnership. Let us go back to the partnership."

80. There is an agreement, as has been pointed out by a number of representatives, to re-establish that partnership in a bi-zonal, federal way. Are we still in favour of it? I ask this question of the representatives who have sponsored the draft resolution. If there is acceptance of the 1977 and 1979 summit agreements, if the aim is still a bi-zonal, federal republic with the Turkish Cypriots, why is it, and how is it, that this is not mentioned in the draft resolution? Why did the Greek Cypriots not include it in their draft resolution, on which the Council's draft is founded? Why is it that in the General Assembly they mentioned everything except these agreements? Is it because they think they have convinced enough Members and they can now get away with Cyprus as a Greek Cypriot land? How would any member like an Ian Smith to get his country as his own because of the mistaken decisions of the Security Council or the General Assembly? Would that member bow to such decisions, or would he feel it to be an honour to stand up and continue campaign of enlightenment in order to prove to the well-intentioned people who have been misinformed that what they are doing is wrong—wrong in the light of the Charter, wrong in the light of the law? That is what we are doing. We are not defying Security Council decisions; we are, I repeat, too small to defy the Security Council or any other body. But, like all men of dignity, we are strong enough to fight for our rights, for our liberty and for the re-establishment of a partnership republic in Cyprus.

81. This republic must be closed to *enosis*, to partition. That is our offer. That this republic must not be a Greek Cypriot republic is the case history of the whole problem. The problem was put on the Council's agenda

when a partnership republic was destroyed. That is why it is there. The Cyprus problem was not put on the Council's agenda because Turkey came to Cyprus. Turkey came to Cyprus in order to save the partnership republic. As for the non-aligned world, which thinks that we are against it or do not accept its principles, I ask it to understand—and I do so in honour, proudly—that had we not fought there would not today be a non-aligned Cyprus. That is so simple, and so true. Had we not fought, Cyprus as an independent, non-aligned State would have disappeared long ago.

82. Another matter I want to touch upon very briefly is the statement made yesterday by the representative of southern Cyprus to the effect that judges continued to function until 1966 and that they withdrew as a result of, again, of course, Turkey's intervention. If Greek Cypriots would stop seeing Turkey under every stone in the Turkish sector, they would start seeing Turkish Cypriots for what they are: Turkish Cypriots, born in Cyprus, who have lived for centuries in Cyprus, who have never submitted to Greek Cypriot rule, who were always equal as one of two different communities, who established with them the Republic of Cyprus and who have been fighting for 20 years now to prevent Greek Cypriots from taking the Republic of Cyprus, the State of Cyprus, into the fold of Greece, which they claim to be their national cause.

83. I will now read out to the Council a statement by the Turkish judges published on 28 February 1980, in News Bulletin No. 3716, in reply to Mr. Justice Triandafilides, who had alleged more or less the same thing as a propaganda gesture: "The Turkish Cypriot judges attended the courts till 2 June 1966"—after the 1963 events there was a lull; then they attended the courts because there was a Canadian chief justice who came and implored us to help retain some contact; otherwise justice would not be done, because in all courts, in mixed cases, there had to be mixed judges, and in order to show that what we wanted was to go back to our constitutional rights, in a revised form of course, and to protect our own people, we went back and the judges said that they left because they had to—

> "through the efforts of the then neutral President of the High Court, Mr. Wilson, on the understanding that the provisions of the Constitution would be restored and hoping that discrimination against the Turkish community would be prevented. But, to our regret, during the two-year period when Turkish judges attended the courts"—most of them had to be escorted to the courts and back to the Turkish area because they were in fear for their lives—"not only were the provisions of the Constitution not restored, but the unconstitutional law mentioned above was used as an instrument to persecute the members of the Turkish community. The courts were turned into a star chamber. Turkish citizens were arrested, brought before the courts on fictitious charges such as preparing warlike operations, refused bail and kept in custody for long periods without being brought to trial. Turkish citizens were sentenced to pay fines of 50 to 200 for carrying a genuinely innocent letter from one village to another."

That was because postal services had been disrupted; we could give many such examples.

> "All these cases were taken before Greek judges, in violation of the Constitution, although Turkish judges were available; on the other hand, the Greeks who attacked or even murdered Turks were not even brought before the courts. Those who were brought for minor charges were later set scot-free or treated very leniently on the pretext of being members of the legal forces of the State."

And legal forces of the State meant an illegal establishment called the National Guard.

> "As judges, we shall never forget the day when, on 2 June 1966, we were stopped at the check-point near the law courts. Some of us were prevented from attending the courts, and one of us, who had managed to get through, was removed from his chambers at gun-point and taken back to the check-point."

This is reality, but the fiction, it appears, is more acceptable when it comes from people who have the label of the Government on them.

84. I have listened with due care, attention and respect to what has been said by the speakers. Everybody says that the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Cyprus are very important. Of course they are. We have said it is because that territorial integrity was not protected by the Greek Cypriots, who attacked us in order to destroy it and hand it over to Greece, that what has happened has happened. We are ready to go back to territorial integrity in a federal form. We are at the table; we never left the table. They left the table, contrary to advice from the Secretary-General. They resorted to the General Assembly.

85. It was the General Assembly's latest resolution, resolution 37/253 of May 1983—which certain Members have proudly said they voted for—which disregarded our rights, which disregarded history, which disregarded what the Greek Cypriot administration had done to the Turkish Cypriots over the years and which gave them the title deed to Cyprus free of charge, contrary to our existence and contrary to our wishes. It is that achievement which made the Greek party leaders who had attended that meeting go back shouting victory; it pointed out to us that the world organization was on the wrong path and that we would not be heard unless and until we made some movement; that we would be eroded from Cyprus unless we showed the world that we meant business in defending our rights and our liberties—in defending Cyprus.

86. That is how we came to the establishment of the State, in self-defence, but I still see that the same

approach is being made by some members who refuse to look back, who refuse to say, all right, we are treating the people who keep the seat of Cyprus as the Government of Cyprus, but we know there is something wrong, therefore all we shall do is to tell them to go and talk at the negotiating table if they are sincere and want to re-establish a partnership republic with these people.

87. This is not said. The Government is important; the territorial integrity of Cyprus is important; the sovereignty of Cyprus is important; the independence of Cyprus is important. With due respect, we think we also are important, because without us there is no territorial integrity—it becomes Greek territory. Without our participation in all organs of the State and in the new form, in all organs of the federal Government, there is no Government, there is no independence.

88. If we refuse to allow Cyprus to become a Greek colony and if over the years our struggle has given no result because of misconceptions in the world, we had to do something to save ourselves from erosion. If the Council understands this, it will be helping us; it will be helping Cyprus. But as long as it does not understand this it will maintain the position that the Greek Cypriots are the Government of Cyprus and it does not matter whether for 20 years they had nothing to do with Turkish Cypriots except attack them, ill-treat them, deny them their rights, change the Constitution by word of mouth, expect Turks to become a minority in a Greek Cyprus; it does not matter how many people were killed in order to reduce the Turks to the position of a minority; it does not matter that the Turks had to invite Turkey as a guaranteeing Power in order to prevent a take-over of the island by Greece; all of that is irrelevant; they can keep the seat of Government; they are the Government and therefore whatever these little Turks do, we must condemn them; we must punish them.

89. We wish to see some condemnation of what has been done and what is still being done to us for 20 years—no rights, no position, no status, no State, and the Council is asking me to continue for perhaps another 20 years in that position. Why? Because if I do not I will be defying the Security Council.

90. I have no intention whatsoever of defying the Security Council resolutions, none whatsoever, but I have no intention of leaving my community in the cold just because the Greek Cypriots will not abandon that seat where my share is still visible to me and I see it as stolen. I say I am as much a Cypriot as he is. I want my right there, and I want my security provided for, too. That is only natural after what has happened to me. That is our case.

91. As I believe the draft resolution will be introduced officially later—and I hope I shall be given the right to say what I think about it and how we shall act with regard to it—I shall not prolong this statement. I repeat with all good will my call for co-operation, which was made in these words:

> "Let us work with determination towards a final compromise and reconciliation. Let us direct our efforts towards positive ends and steadily proceed on that course. Let us abandon negative attitudes geared toward destroying each other. Let us not forget that others cannot take decisions on behalf of the two peoples of Cyprus, and that only through our own efforts, treading the same path together and helping each other, shall we be able to proceed towards a federal solution."

92. I therefore invite the Greek Cypriots once again to tread with us the same constructive and peaceful path by passing through the door we are still holding open for them. If they walk through that door, we shall end in a bi-zonal partnership State. Do they want it? Do they look at us as partners, as equals, or do they not? If they do not, let us not waste the Council's time and the Secretary-General's time. If they do, the Council will find us more than ever eager to help establish this bi-zonal federal republic.

93. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The representative of Cyprus has asked to speak, and I call upon him to do so.

94. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): I had hoped that the representative of Turkey would make at least a credible attempt to reply to the fully documented statement by my Foreign Minister yesterday. Instead, he again chose, in the usual fashion, to place Mr. Denktaş at the forefront, to rehash unsubstantiated statements and repeated allegations which can no longer stand scrutiny by the Council.

95. In a previous statement by my delegation I said, among other things, that should the Turkish Cypriot community be set free the world would witness one of the most moving scenes of reunion among countrymen with a common destiny and country. This is my Government's policy. However, this reference to unity and the bonds of common destiny of our people, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, caused Mr. Denktaş high blood pressure and almost an outburst, so that, as he admits, he had to leave the Council chamber. Beyond the candidness of his statement, no words of his could have demonstrated more effectively his hatred of, and aversion to, the unity and peaceful co-operation of our communities.

96. When I spoke of the common bonds and destiny of our Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities, I did not, of course, wish Mr. Denktaş harm. On the contrary, I hope that he is alive to see the proof of the wise saying that water runs to water and man to man. He will see his policies of separation and partition tumble and his policies of hatred discarded in the waste basket. For no man and no power in the world can stop the natural course of unity against which he has fought consistently, all his life, in spite of some parts of his statement today.

97. Many statements of the Turkish representative and Mr. Denktaş have again revolved around the question of *enosis*. For every quotation on *enosis* which they can produce, I can quote an equal number of Turkish statements on *taqsim*—that is, the partition of Cyprus. Let me simply quote Mr. Denktaş himself, who said on 11 August 1977, according to the weekly magazine *Soz*: "We said Cyprus is Turkish and shall remain Turkish." On 24 March 1978 he was again quoted in *Soz* as saying: "Let them brand me a chauvinist. I spoke openly. Unless this Turkish community integrates and unites with its motherland, the Cyprus problem will not reach a solution."

98. As to Mr. Denktaş's credibility—I would say "credibility gap"—*Soz* also wrote, on 15 November 1978:

> "Rauf Denktaş's past and his present domestic policy nullify the credibility of his statements. The world and particularly the non-aligned countries"—to which Mr. Denktaş referred today—"do not intend to forget Denktaş's past policy for partition and unification with Turkey. Nobody will seriously believe those who take bills providing for integration with the motherland to the Assembly at home and who talk about independence abroad."

How right that is. They did not believe him then, and they will not believe him today.

99. It is no secret that the self-determination claimed by the Cypriots during the colonial years aimed at *enosis*. It was neither sinister nor secret. Cypriots placed this item before the General Assembly, and the records of the General Assembly are there to prove both that demand for *enosis* and, equally important, the candidness of the claim.

100. But what about today? It is the epitome of misinformation when statements on *enosis* made by the Turkish side avoid reference to the present, and specifically to two solemn resolutions of the Cyprus House of Representatives, of 20 September 1979 and 2 October 1981, which absolutely reject any solution which would abolish the independent Republic of Cyprus or annex the whole or part of its territory to any other State. The Government of Cyprus stands by those resolutions. Furthermore, the high-level agreement of 1979 between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktaş rules out *enosis*, secession and partition.

101. As to his questions about the high-level agreements, my answer is that, yes, we stand by the 1977 and 1979 agreements. Has the Turkish side honoured them? Of course it has not. They proceeded with the unilateral declaration of independence, they exchanged ambassadors, and they are contemplating other illegal actions for the complete partition and eventual annexation by Turkey of the occupied part. They have undermined these agreements at their roots.

102. Mr. Denktaş spoke about an imaginary *coup*, and about the Turkish Cypriot community being deprived of its rights. Where is the *coup*? The then President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, in order to ensure the smooth functioning of the State and remove certain causes of international friction in a democratic way, transmitted a 13-point memorandum to the then Vice-President Küçük, a Turkish Cypriot, for his consideration. The latter promised to consider it. These points suggested the revision of certain articles of the Constitution which, owing to their separatist nature, impeded the smooth functioning of the Government and tended to keep the two communities apart instead of drawing them together in a spirit of co-operation and understanding. The proposals aimed at the well-being of the people of Cyprus as a whole.

103. Because of this 13-point proposal, Turkey found a pretext, however, to set its sinister plans once again in motion. Turkey organized and carried out Ankara's plan for undermining the newly established Republic of Cyprus through acts of insurrection against the Government and outright terrorism against members of the Turkish community who believed in the coexistence and co-operation of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. The cold-blooded murder on 11 April 1965 of the Turkish Cypriot Kavazoglou and the Greek Cypriot Mishaoulis—two people dedicated to the common destiny of and co-operation between our communities—is a striking example of the inhuman means employed for the purpose of suppressing any contacts or friendship between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

104. Mr. Denktaş accused the Government of not having shown flexibility on the solution of the problem. That is an outrageous allegation. The sad truth is that we made painful concessions. We accepted negotiations while the occupation troops were in Cyprus even though the resolutions provided for prior withdrawal of those Turkish troops. We accepted a federal solution of the problem even though our position had all along been in favour of a unitary State. No sooner had we accepted the federation than the Turkish side came up with another demand: for a bi-regional federation. Painfully but sincerely we accepted it in order to bring to an end the agonizing suffering of our people. But, alas, we have recently heard the voice of Turkey speaking about a "bi-national, bi-zonal federation", meaning that there are two peoples, two nations, in Cyprus, and that, according to an interpretation given by Mr. Denktaş himself, "The two partner peoples who will form the federation will live in their respective areas and under the administration of their own federated States."

105. This interpretation distorts both the letter and the spirit of the Makarios-Denktaş agreement of 1977. That agreement referred to areas which would be under the administration of each community, but at no point did it say that the area under Greek Cypriot administration would be inhabited solely by Greek Cypriots and the area under Turkish Cypriot administration would be

inhabited solely by Turkish Cypriots. That the interpretation given by Mr. Denktaş is arbitrary is evident also from references in the agreement to principles such as those of freedom of movement, freedom of settlement and the right to property. The creation in a State of two areas that would be inhabited by citizens solely on the basis of their racial origin is contrary to every human rights convention. It is a form of *apartheid*, and the Government of Cyprus cannot accept it. Will the exponents of segregation, division and *apartheid* sell it to the international community? I strongly believe they will not.

106. Mr. Denktaş complained about the United Nations resolutions and, especially, about positions taken by the non-aligned countries on the question of Cyprus. In other words, he told us that the whole international community and especially the non-aligned countries are out of their minds for supporting the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of Cyprus and for branding his puppet régime as legally invalid. The whole world is at fault, according to him, because it does not agree with him and because no self-respecting country recognizes the offspring of the genocidal expulsion of indigenous peoples. Self-respect, apparently, is not a virtue which he appreciates.

107. I believe that on this subject an article published on 3 September 1979 in the Turkish daily *Aidinlyk* hits the nail on the head. It states the following:

> "The Cyprus resolutions taken by the non-aligned countries are in complete harmony with the basic principles of the Non-Aligned Movement. National independence and respect for a country's sovereignty top these principles. By Turkey's military intervention in Cyprus in 1974 the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus have been destroyed. Could it be expected that the non-aligned would support the intervention by accepting this situation?"

108. Mr. Denktaş spoke about the 1960 Constitution. I put a question to him. Does he accept the 1960 Constitution? My President made the position of the Government very clear in last year's General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

NOTES

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5476.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 5475.

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OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-NINTH YEAR

2539th MEETING: 11 MAY 1984

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2539)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
The situation in Cyprus: Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)	1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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2539th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 11 May 1984, at 7.40 p.m.

President: Mr. Oleg A. TROYANOVSKY
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2539)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Cyprus:
   Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

The meeting was called to order at 7.55 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:
Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2531st to 2538th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to take places at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, the German Democratic Republic, Guyana, Hungary, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mongolia, Panama, Saint Lucia, Sri Lanka, the Syrian Arab Republic, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Iacovou (Cyprus), Mr. Dountas (Greece) and Mr. Kirca (Turkey) took places at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Jacobs (Antigua and Barbuda), Mr. Woolcott (Australia), Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. César (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Karran (Guyana), Mr. Rácz (Hungary), Mr. Carr (Jamaica), Mr. Zain (Malaysia), Mr. Erdenechuluun (Mongolia), Mrs. Noriega (Panama), Mr. St. Aimée (Saint Lucia), Mr. Wijewardane (Sri Lanka), Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. Members of the Council have before them document S/16550, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by India, Nicaragua, Upper Volta and Zimbabwe.

3. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) [*interpretation from Chinese*]: First of all, Sir, I should like, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, to extend our congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your outstanding diplomatic skill will undoubtedly ensure that the Council will smoothly fulfil its mission. The Chinese delegation also wishes to take this occasion to express its appreciation for the excellent manner in which Mr. Kravets, the President last month, performed his duties.

4. We have listened attentively to the statement made by Mr. Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus [*2531st meeting*], and to the statements made by Mr. Denktaş and other representatives. The Chinese delegation also wishes briefly to reiterate the position of the Chinese Government on the question of Cyprus.

5. The Chinese Government steadfastly supports the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, as well as its non-aligned status. The Chinese Government and people are deeply concerned about the fact that the Cyprus question has remained unsolved for so long, and they have deep sympathy for the Cypriot people, which has suffered so much from this state of affairs. The recent deterioration of the situation in Cyprus has increased their anxiety.

6. It is the hope of the Chinese Government that the Cyprus question will be solved through intercommunal negotiations. The Chinese delegation maintains that the Cyprus question is a complicated one; while having its own historical background, it is also being affected by present-day factors. It will take some time before a solution can be reached.

7. At the same time, we consistently believe that the two Cypriot communities share the same fundamental interests and that their differences can be solved. We are glad to hear from the current debate such statements as "the Turkish Cypriot community constitutes a precious and inseparable part of the people of our country" and the assurance not to seek the partition of Cyprus. We sincerely hope that, for the prosperity of Cyprus, the two Cypriot communities will set store by their overall interests, act in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation and avoid taking any action that might further complicate and magnify the Cyprus question. Efforts should be made for the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust so that the bicommunal negotiations can soon be resumed and the Cyprus question solved at an early date. We believe that this is not just the ardent hope of the Chinese people but the common aspiration of all peoples throughout the world.

8. The Chinese Government supports the Secretary-General's mission of good offices. The international community has been deeply concerned about the question of Cyprus. In the past 20 years and more both the General Assembly and the Security Council have considered this question on many occasions and adopted numerous resolutions pertaining to it. Mandated by the Security Council, the Secretary-General has over a long period of time tried to use his good offices to help bring about a reasonable solution to the question. Although his mediation efforts have not yet yielded due results, they are helpful for maintaining contacts and promoting the process of negotiations. The Chinese delegation has always appreciated and supported his efforts. In his report [*S/16519*] the Secretary-General stated that he is prepared, if the Security Council so decides, to continue to discharge to the best of his ability the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Council. The Chinese delegation will continue to co-operate with him in this regard and we hope that all the parties concerned will continue to render him co-operation and support in his endeavours.

9. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

10. The Soviet Union is seriously concerned about the worsening state of affairs in Cyprus, where a further exacerbation of the situation fraught with dangerous consequences is taking place. It is from this standpoint that we approach the present discussion of the question of Cyprus in the Security Council.

11. The Soviet delegation listened carefully to the statement of the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, and we can well understand the emotion with which he spoke about the threat to the sovereignty and unity of Cyprus resulting from the continuing interference from outside in the internal affairs of that State and the attempts to bring about its partition. We also listened carefully to the other statements at Council meetings by the representatives of the parties directly interested.

12. In November last year the Security Council considered the situation that had arisen as a result of the fact that the leaders of the Turkish community of Cyprus had proclaimed the establishment of a so-called "independent State" in the part of the island under foreign occupation. This secessionist action was condemned by the Security Council in its resolution 541 (1983), for which the Soviet Union voted.

13. As members are aware, at that time the Council called upon all States and both communities in Cyprus to refrain from any actions that might exacerbate the situation. Despite that appeal, the Turkish community took steps recently to consolidate the so-called "independent State" in part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus. This cannot be seen as anything other than a flagrant violation of the decisions of the Security Council and an attempt to create new *faits accomplis*.

14. These actions seriously undermine the basis for a just political settlement of the problem of Cyprus that would take properly into account the lawful interests of both communities on the island. They are causing a dangerous exacerbation of the situation both in that country and in the adjacent region. In the interest of peace and calm in the region, as well as in the long-term interests of Cypriots—Greek and Turkish—it is important that the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community revoke those decisions, which were designed to split Cyprus and which contravene the repeated decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

15. The Soviet delegation draws attention to the fact that the declaration of the so-called "independent State" was made at a time when the international situation was worsening. As was noted on 28 April this year at a meeting of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Constantine Chernenko, with the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece, Mr. Florakis, this action "was a direct consequence of the actions of the imperialist forces, led by the United States, which are stirring up hotbeds of conflict in various parts of the world."

16. In the present conditions, in the view of the Soviet delegation, the Security Council must condemn any secessionist action designed to split the Cypriot State. We agree with those who argue that the Council should demand implementation of its former decisions, including resolution 541 (1983), and support the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. The Council must state its support for a continuance of the Secretary-General's efforts to bring about a settlement of the question of Cyprus.

17. The present situation once again confirms how important it is that all parties should show true political far-sightedness and refrain from any actions that might in the end only inflame the situation and create new obstacles to a mutually acceptable solution of the Cypriot problem. It is also important to continue to try to break prevailing trends and to direct the development of events on the island towards normalization.

18. In this connection we continue to attach great importance to the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General, which has been renewed repeatedly by the Security Council. The Secretary-General's activities are a source of satisfaction to those who are in favour of the preservation of the independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. We hope that the Secretary-General will, as in the past, be able to use his authority to break the deadlock on the Cypriot problem and bring about the resumption of the intercommunal dialogue and progress towards a just and lasting settlement. His efforts have always had and will continue to have the support of the Soviet Union.

19. The Soviet Union, for its part, will continue to promote the early achievement by peaceful means of a just settlement in Cyprus, without outside interference and through constructive negotiations. We will persistently and consistently adhere to the policy that Cyprus should be an independent non-aligned State with territorial integrity and free from the presence of foreign troops and military bases. We are decisively against any kind of partition of the Republic of Cyprus and its absorption by any country, which has been directly forbidden by the Security Council in its resolution 367 (1975). The Soviet Union is consistently guided by this position of principle in its contacts in connection with the Cypriot problem with all the interested States and parties.

20. I now resume my duties as PRESIDENT of the Council.

21. It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

22. I call upon the representative of Pakistan, who wishes to make a statement before the vote.

23. Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): My delegation deeply regrets that, as in the case of resolution 541 (1983) on 18 November 1983, we have little choice but to cast a negative vote on the draft resolution in document S/16550.

24. We opposed resolution 541 (1983) because in our judgement it fell short of the minimum requirements of a document expected to serve as a basis for promoting a fair solution of the Cyprus problem and preserving the unity and territorial integrity of the island State. Our conviction, deriving from the past and contemporary history of the events in Cyprus, was that the accumulated problems of the island could only be resolved by predicating its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity within the framework of a bi-communal, bi-zonal federal system. It was also our conviction that such a consummation of events could have been brought about only through the promotion of intercommunal talks and reconciliation and unstinted support and encouragement for the initiative of the Secretary-General. We opposed resolution 541 (1983) precisely because it lacked these essential attributes.

25. We do not like to sit in judgement of the authors of resolution 541 (1983), who promoted it, no doubt, with the best of intentions. However, even the best of intentions do not necessarily ensure a journey to salvation if they do not originate in realism or if they neglect historical imperatives. As all members know, resolution 541 (1983) has remained moribund because one of the two recognized principal parties to the Cyprus problem, namely the Turkish Cypriot community, found it totally unacceptable. Thus it failed to promote its intended objectives and only resulted in the further disenchantment of the Turkish Cypriot community, as reflected in its recent actions, which have been the subject of the current debate in the Security Council.

26. During the Council's deliberations this time, we emphasized that the Council had an opportunity to turn the course of events on the island in the right direction. We did not look at the situation in a hopeless vein; we saw a silver lining in the clearly stated desire of both sides to maintain the unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus. What was required was to move away from resolution 541 (1983) and to mount a constructive and positive effort by giving an open mandate to the Secretary-General to bring about conciliation between the two communities and to put back on the rails the hitherto interrupted intercommunal negotiations, which remain the only credible process for a just settlement of the Cyprus problem.

27. Little can be accomplished through yet another censure of the actions resorted to by the Turkish Cypriots, who for 20 years have felt deprived of their legitimate national rights guaranteed to them as a co-founder community under the 1960 Constitution, the bedrock of the independence of the island. I may recall the words of the representative of the United Kingdom, who this morning said that no party to the Cyprus problem has the monopoly of virtue. All parties have made mistakes, all parties have acted in contravention of agreements. Accordingly, a fresh approach needs to be built on the positive and promising elements which still survive in the situation and in the attitudes of the two Cypriot communities.

28. An appropriate resolution, in our view, would reaffirm the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus, call for the resumption of the intercommunal talks on the basis of the high-level

agreements of 1977 and 1979, which envisaged a united Cyprus within a bicommunal, bi-zonal federal framework. It would renew the Secretary-General's mission of good offices to reactivate efforts in the search for a settlement of the Cyprus problem through the resumption of intercommunal talks and would call on the parties to co-operate with the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices and to refrain from any action which might frustrate the fulfilment of his mandate.

29. The draft resolution in document S/16550 does not accord with our perception of the issue or what we consider to be an appropriate response to the delicate situation in Cyprus. In most of its aspects, this draft resolution is cast in the image of resolution 541 (1983), only it is harsher in tone. It makes no reference to the resumption of intercommunal talks or the high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979, which are fundamental to any search for a just settlement of the Cyprus problem. In our judgement the draft resolution is likely to become yet another obstacle rather than a milestone of progress on the difficult road to intercommunal reconciliation. It may indeed intensify beyond retrieve the divisive tendencies which are currently asserting themselves on the island.

30. Besides being one-sided in character, the draft resolution attempts to redefine the mandate of the Secretary-General to entrust him with what could be a "mission impossible". The Secretary-General is being requested to undertake new efforts to attain a solution of the Cyprus problem in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the pertinent United Nations resolutions, including Security Council resolution 541 (1983) and the present draft resolution. Efforts based on such a mandate could have little chance of success.

31. However, we are not entirely despondent; we have trust in the personality and prestige of the Secretary-General and the confidence the two sides repose in him. We hope that despite the complications inherent in the flawed mandate he will be able to renew his contacts with the leadership of the Cypriot communities and present comprehensive proposals which could promote a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem. We also have confidence in the good sense of the leaders of the two communities to refrain from any further actions which would irrevocably frustrate the objective of a united Cyprus.

32. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/16550.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Against: Pakistan.

Abstaining: United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to 1, with 1 abstention [resolution 550 (1984)].

33. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I shall now call upon those members who wish to speak after the vote.

34. Mr. CLARK (United States of America): We wish sincerely to congratulate you personally, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month.

35. We have already said, and we wish to reiterate now, that the United States condemns the so-called exchange of ambassadors between Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership, as well as other announced actions which seek to reinforce the declaration of the Turkish Cypriot authorities of 15 November 1983. Additionally, we agree that the Council cannot accept *faits accomplis* contrary to its resolutions. We agree that these actions are without legal merit and hinder efforts to find a solution to the grave problems confronting Cyprus.

36. Despite these agreements with the draft resolution, however, we have abstained because we also recognize that strong feelings exist among the parties to this issue, and in view of this we seek to avoid any possible exacerbation, even if unintended, of the conflict.

37. We will continue to give the strongest possible support to the continuing good offices mission of the Secretary-General, and we earnestly hope that the parties concerned will do the same.

38. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): My delegation voted in favour of the resolution which the Council has just adopted. We did so because wrong has been done and it is important for the Council to condemn it. In its resolution 541 (1983) of last November, the Council deplored the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot authorities of the purported secession of part of the Republic of Cyprus. That wrong has now been compounded by the purported exchange of ambassadors, and that the Council has now rightly condemned.

39. Although we voted for the resolution we do not regard it as ideal. It has several drawbacks, which I will come to in a moment.

40. First, however, I must re-emphasize the main points I made in my intervention in the debate this morning. The fundamental and long-term aspects of the situation in Cyprus are complicated. We shall not make them simpler or easier of solution by over-emphasizing the particular wrongdoing which we are now condemning. No party to the dispute, as I said earlier, has a

monopoly of virtue. All parties have made mistakes; all parties have acted in contravention of agreements. If actions or threats of actions of this sort persist, it inevitably means a serious worsening of the situation. The downward spiral of events towards catastrophe must be halted.

41. Indeed, it must be reversed. We must create an upward spiral. The way to do this is first and foremost through the Secretary-General's good offices. We applaud that part of our present resolution which calls on all parties to support this. We will judge the merits and the degree of support which is due to each party by the extent to which they obey this injunction. We are confident that the Secretary-General understands the problem in all its complexities and we expect him to strive his utmost to secure agreement, but he cannot do this without the co-operation of the parties. We have a proverb in English that while you can bring a horse to water, you cannot make him drink. It is essential that the parties to the dispute should express their readiness to drink. I would observe in parentheses that the consequences of not drinking are drastic. If the parties would put aside passion and think of their own future in realistic and unemotional terms, we believe that they will find acceptable and indeed sensible the principles which I enunciated at the end of my statement this morning.

42. I now turn to the drawbacks we found in the present resolution.

43. The first is that it seems either to go too far or not to go far enough. There is a certain confusion between the short term and the long term. We regret that it does not say some of the things contained in my speech this morning. We regret that it looks forward in some respects and not in others.

44. We are not sure that in a practical sense it is politically helpful to include in this resolution paragraphs 5 and 6. We also have reservations about paragraph 10.

45. As for paragraph 8, we regard its correct interpretation as of crucial importance. We are much concerned that misinterpretation of it might worsen the situation. I have voted in favour of the resolution on the understanding derived from the co-sponsors that paragraph 8 means that the Secretary-General's mandate set out in Security Council resolution 367 (1975) remains wholly valid. It is our understanding that the Secretary-General has a free hand. He will of course take account of the principles of the Charter and of relevant resolutions, but that is all. The Secretary-General is as free after this resolution as he has always been in the past. The latter part of this operative paragraph is meant to relate to the eventual overall solution of the Cyprus problem, not to the Secretary-General's mandate.

46. On these understandings and without believing that the resolution is perfect, we support it, because it has some good things in it. We wish to make it very plain that the adoption of this resolution is not to be taken as an excuse for further wrongs, nor for the adoption of intransigent positions on any side. The message we intend to convey through this resolution is that the future of both communities in Cyprus is at risk and that the way for them to support their own future security and well-being is to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the exercise of his good offices. Those who do not will lose friends.

47. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): During the Council's debate this morning on the question of Cyprus, I said that the Netherlands would extend its full co-operation to any effort by the Council that would strengthen the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General and provide him with the necessary political support. I also said that the recent developments have made it necessary for us to reaffirm forcefully and in accordance with Security Council resolution 541 (1983) the Council's opposition to and non-recognition of the November 1983 unilateral declaration of independence by the Turkish Cypriot authorities. However, we also recognize, as the representative of the United Kingdom pointed out this morning with great clarity, that it is necessary to make a distinction between the immediate problem of the purported exchange of ambassadors and the more fundamental long-term problem of the situation in Cyprus.

48. Having listened to the debate and taken into account the long and difficult history of the Cyprus problem, we felt that it would not be an easy task for the Council to give due consideration to the immediate and more long-term aspects of the situation in Cyprus and to agree on a constructive course of action which, while rejecting the regrettable recent developments, would at the same time have promoted conciliation, understanding, confidence and trust between the two separate communities, thereby reviving the hope for a peaceful and just solution to the Cyprus problem. Confronted with the present resolution, we would have liked to have seen these aims more fully reflected in its text.

49. In voting in favour of this resolution, which also contains many elements with which we wholeheartedly agree, my delegation wishes to express some reservations as to the wording of the resolution, in particular paragraph 10.

50. As far as paragraph 8 is concerned, we consider the language of this paragraph as in no way restricting the freedom of action of the Secretary-General in initiating any new efforts he might deem appropriate to revive the intercommunal dialogue within the framework of the existing mandate of his mission of good offices, as entrusted to him by the Council.

51. In conclusion, we earnestly hope that all parties directly concerned will heed the call expressed in paragraph 9 to co-operate with the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices.

52. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: Mr. Rauf Denktaş, whom the Security Council under its rules of procedure has invited to take part in its meetings, has asked to be allowed to speak. With the agreement of the Council, I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

53. Mr. DENKTAŞ: My belief in the powers and intentions of this body is that it can make enslaved, colonized people free, but it cannot make free people enslaved or colonized.

54. The resolution, in the way in which it will be interpreted by the Greek Cypriot leadership—and we know them well—will become a tool for the harassment of my community and for the destruction of its bicommunality. I wish it were not so, but it will be so used. Therefore, I shall not take much of the Council's time.

55. The resolution, which refers to the Republic of Cyprus, or to the Cyprus Government, without regard at all to the co-founder, partnership status of my people and the fact that we have been rejected and ejected from the partnership State, looking at those who have occupied the seat of government by force of arms for 20 years, those who have denied my people all its natural rights and liberties, cannot be accepted by us as helpful to the solution of the problem.

56. I know from my contacts with some members of the Council that their Governments' decisions bind them. I hope that in time their Governments will see that we do not want to be a pawn between two or more Powers; that we are a people fighting for our independence and liberty; that we are, with our sacrifices, the party which has maintained the independence and non-alignment of Cyprus.

57. Representatives have said that they have listened to the statement of the President of the Republic of Cyprus. I have heard the statement of the President of southern Cyprus, and I have pointed out to the Council how he uses his powers and his authority against us.

58. I deny, and shall continue to deny, that we have seceded from our State. We were thrown out of it by a violent act and not allowed back in. I reject any suggestion of the idea of secession. I deny it, and shall continue to deny it, for and on behalf of my people, who are living as part of Cyprus, but separately, because they managed to stop the attacking forces at the right time and saved themselves from annihilation.

59. I have made no "threats for settlement of Varosha". I made an offer on 2 January this year about Varosha [*see S/16246, annex*]. Varosha is part of my State. I have said within the offers I have made that I am prepared to discuss it with the Secretary-General. It is regrettable that the Security Council, the highest authority on earth for settling international issues, has seen fit to dwell upon a small quarter in Cyprus without regard to the properties abandoned by my people for years and years.

60. Resolution 541 (1983) was counterproductive from the point of view of peace, and I told the Council with deference last time why we could not accept it. The Council has based the present resolution on it, and therefore we cannot accept today's resolution.

61. The Council declares the exchange of ambassadors illegal and invalid. We have taken notice of its views. We do not agree with them, because the Council has not taken cognisance of the true facts of the Cyprus case, because members are bound by directives from their centres, which have not heard the realities of Cyprus and which for years have been misled with misinformation.

62. The Council, in the resolution just adopted, calls upon all States "not to recognize the purported State of the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' set up by secessionist acts" and "not to facilitate or in any way assist the aforesaid secessionist entity". I thank the Council. It has decided that my people, because they are fighting for their liberty and do not accept colonization by the Greek Cypriots, should be isolated in this world like lepers. I thank it for this, and I am sure history will record how a community fighting for nothing but its liberty has been treated by this body.

63. In any case, for 20 years all our economic activities were stopped. We were under a blockade by the Greek Cypriot side, because they regarded themselves as the legitimate Government of Cyprus. Now, on their behalf, you are asking them to squeeze us out economically. We have lived on bread, on onions, on beans, for years. We shall continue to do so if necessary, but we shall not accept those who occupy by force the seat of Government as the Government of Cyprus.

64. The Council "Calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and nonalignment of the Republic of Cyprus". I hope Greek Cypriot leaders are also bound by this demand, because it is they who attacked independence in the name of *enosis*; it is they who divided the territory of Cyprus by trying to destroy us; it is they who destroyed unity by ejecting us from the Government; it is they, not we, who used and continue to use non-alignment for the purpose of hellenising Cyprus.

65. The Council "Considers attempts to settle any part of Varosha by people other than its inhabitants as inadmissible and calls for the transfer of that area to the administration of the United Nations". I am sorry to say that the Council does not even know what Varosha means, what it is. The Secretary-General knows it; I know it. We have exchanged documents and maps on it, and I undertook in my offers of 2 January to talk about this part of the town with him. With this resolution the Council makes it extremely difficult for me to keep my promise and continue to do so.

66. In spite of my statement this morning about the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus

(UNFICYP), that matter also has been incorporated in the resolution. We shall deal with this matter when the time comes for the mandate in the spirit in which I spoke this morning, hoping that nothing will be done in the mean time by the enforced so-called Government of Cyprus to stop us pursuing that course.

67. Then the Secretary-General is requested "to promote the urgent implementation of Security Council resolution 541 (1983)". I trust that the Secretary-General will find a way parallel to this request and will not attempt to comply with it, because that would kill the intercommunal talks and any prospect of negotiations.

68. We are not a herd of animals; we are a people with a history, with 20 years of struggle for our rights behind us; we are a people entitled to the same consideration as the Greek Cypriots. We cannot accept a position in which we are disregarded in this fashion.

69. In paragraph 8 the Council reaffirms the good offices mandate, but ties it to resolution 541 (1983). Thus it is giving the Secretary-General a duty which has nothing to do with good offices. If the Secretary-General is unable to find a parallel way of approaching us and comes to us under paragraph 8 it is this Council that will have closed all avenues to a negotiated settlement. I regret to say that this will be the result of this resolution, which I look upon as an utterly Greek Cypriot resolution, supported by people who do not even know where Cyprus is. Members voted on it in good will; I have nothing to say about that, but they have done a disservice to the negotiating process.

70. The Council then calls upon all parties to cooperate with the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices. If that refers to the powers given to him in paragraph 6 of Council resolution 367 (1975)—which is how I understand it—and if the Secretary-General can satisfy me and my people when I see him in a few days that that, and nothing else, is the meaning of his good offices, then, of course, we shall all try to help the Secretary-General as much as we can. We shall consider it our duty to do so, because we too believe that the Cyprus problem can be settled only through intercommunal negotiations.

71. Paragraph 10 is unacceptable to us. I must point out that there is no mention at all there of summit agreements or high-level agreements, in spite of the fact that today I forced out of the representative of the Greek Cypriot side that he is all for those agreements —or at least he had to pay lip-service to them. Why, then, behind closed doors, did they object to a wording which would have put us at ease?

72. So again, it is up to the Secretary-General to satisfy us that the agreed procedure and formula, the summit agreements and the Secretary-General's 1980 and 1981 efforts are in effect, and that the aim is a bi-zonal, federal solution. If we are satisfied, after we have reported the whole affair to my people, to the Parliament of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and to its Government, I shall be in touch with the Secretary-General.

73. For over a week the Security Council has devoted its time to the Cyprus question. I thank the members for that. Although the decision lacks our support, we are sure of their good intentions, and we look upon the Council as the body that will help to ensure the settlement of all international conflicts by peaceful means.

74. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The representative of Turkey has asked to speak, and I now call on him.

75. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) [*interpretation from French*]: Turkey is sorry that it has been obliged once again to reject a Security Council resolution on the question of Cyprus. We must state that once again we are faced with a text that by no means satisfies the criteria of impartiality, historical objectivity and a desire to uphold the supremacy of the rule of law. This text does not serve the cause of reconciliation and understanding between the two communities of Cyprus. Therefore Turkey rejects the resolution in its entirety because it is based on resolution 541 (1983), which we have already rejected *in toto*. Resolution 550 (1984), adopted today, is based on a fundamentally erroneous concept. It recognizes as the Government of the Republic of Cyprus a team of usurpers who can claim only to represent the Greek Cypriot community. Fortunately, that team does not govern the island's Turkish community, even by violence. It has no authority to represent it. It resulted from a *coup d'état* against the unalterable Basic Articles of the Cypriot Constitution of 16 August 1960, which was put into effect and guaranteed by international treaties of the same date duly concluded and implemented.

76. The Security Council, instead of bolstering the illegal and illegitimate claims of that team, might have chosen to adopt a more just, more balanced position, more in keeping with the principles of the inviolability of treaties and the primacy of the rule of law. Turkey repeats this once again today. It hopes that circumstances will not compel it to repeat it yet again.

77. I should like now to make some comments on certain paragraphs of the resolution. On 3 May [*2532nd meeting*] I had occasion to explain my Government's point of view on the acts and actions referred to in the sixth preambular paragraph and in paragraph 2, and I shall not repeat it. Moreover, we have on several occasions explained that the Turkish armed forces in Cyprus are not occupation troops but protective forces present on the basis of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee.[1] We cannot, therefore, subscribe to the content of these two paragraphs.

78. It is difficult for those who are thoroughly conversant with the situation concerning Varosha to understand the meaning of the seventh preambular para-

graph and paragraph 5. The comprehensive Turkish Cypriot proposals of 5 August 1981 and the proposals of Mr. Rauf Denktaş concerning Varosha, in particular those of 2 January [*see S/16246, annex*] and 18 April 1984 [*S/16519, annex IV*], are still under discussion between His Excellency and the Secretary-General and the authorities of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Thus, Turkey has great difficulty in understanding why these paragraphs appear in the text. In our view, this constitutes improper interference by the Council in the search for a solution, which is the exclusive responsibility of the two communities of the island. That interference also creates an unfortunate precedent. Is the Council going to intervene every time it is asked to do so by one of the parties, when it is dissatisfied with one or another position taken by the other party on a particular point in the intercommunal negotiations or in the talks between the other party and the Secretary-General? It is obvious that such a practice is unacceptable. That is why Turkey rejects that precedent.

79. Turkey also rejects paragraph 3, which is no more than an expression of policy of ostracism that certain circles wish to apply against the Turkish community of Cyprus. That policy is neither just nor realistic, and it can only have consequences incompatible with the quest for ultimate reconciliation between the two communities on the island.

80. This morning Mr. Denktaş reiterated the position of his Government *vis-à-vis* UNFICYP. That position is undeniably positive, welcoming and co-operative. Turkey does not therefore understand the reason for the inclusion of paragraph 6.

81. With regard to paragraph 10, it has no meaning. It has no legal basis in the Charter of the United Nations.

82. Paragraph 8 is quite unacceptable to Turkey. That paragraph is not only untimely, but dangerous. It is obviously going to make the Secretary-General's efforts, as well as the resumption of the intercommunal talks, extremely difficult. I listened with close attention to the comments made by Pakistan, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands on this subject.

83. Mr. Denktaş officially stated in the Council that the Turkish Cypriot community will not allow the continuation of the good offices of the Secretary-General on the basis of this paragraph and that the intercommunal negotiations cannot resume on that basis. The good offices of the Secretary-General cannot be linked to Security Council resolution 541 (1983), and the Council has no right to set aside the high-level agreements already concluded between the two communities.

84. Mr. Denktaş has unambiguously stated that the pursuit of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices will be acceptable to the Turkish Cypriot community only on the basis of paragraph 6 of Security Council resolution 367 (1975) and that the resumption of the intercommunal talks under his auspices can be considered only on the basis of that same paragraph, a basis that exists and that has been mutually agreed to, as the Secretary-General has stated—on the basis, that is, of the high-level agreements of 12 February 1977 [*see S/12323, para. 5*] and 19 May 1979 [*see S/13369, para. 51*], the opening statement of the Secretary-General of 9 August 1980 [*S/14100, annex*] and the United Nations "evaluation" paper of 18 November 1981. There exists an enormous opportunity, but only in that framework.

85. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus, upon whom I now call.

86. Mr. IACOVOU (Cyprus): It is rather late, Mr. President, and you have had a long day. You must be tired by now. I only want to express my gratitude to the members of the Security Council for the adoption of this resolution. In particular I should like to express our appreciation for the most constructive and effective role which the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries played in preparing and presenting to the Council a resolution which contains the elements necessary to proceed to a just and principled solution of the problem of Cyprus.

87. The grave dangers which prompted my Government to have recourse to the Council are clear and current, and it is my earnest hope that this resolution will remedy the situation, contributing at the same time to assisting the Secretary-General to undertake new efforts to attain an overall solution to the problem of Cyprus in conformity with the principles of the Charter and the provisions laid down in the pertinent United Nations resolutions, including resolution 541 (1983) and the present resolution.

88. Resolution 541 (1983) and the present resolution contain all the essential elements for, and are a sure way to achieve, progress towards a just and lasting solution. They are a direct and natural result of the fact that the Council has appreciated the dangers to Cyprus emanating from recent illegalities. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus will do its utmost to promote an atmosphere conducive to the success of the efforts of the Secretary-General and to promote the implementation of the resolution the Council has just adopted, thereby opening the road to a just settlement of the problem of Cyprus not only in the interests of the people of Cyprus as a whole but in the interests of international peace and security.

89. We feel that the Council should, as warranted by the gravity of the situation in my country, consider urgent measures, in accordance with the Charter, for the implementation of all provisions of resolution 541 (1983) and of the present resolution if the need arises —and I sincerely hope that it will not arise. In the first place, it is necessary for all Member States to exert

influence on Turkey for the withdrawal of the secessionist declaration. It is also imperative to impress upon Turkey that it must abandon its designs against the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, so essential for a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the problem of Cyprus. It is our hope that the Turkish Government will demonstrate a positive and constructive attitude with a view to putting an end, as soon as possible, to the tragedy of the people of Cyprus.

90. I should be remiss were I not to express our deepest appreciation and gratitude to you, Mr. President, for the skillful and effective manner in which you have conducted our very difficult and long debate.

The meeting rose at 9 p.m.

NOTE

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475.

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